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ON THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF BHÁRATAVARSA OR INDIA

ON

THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS

OF

BHARATAVARṢA OR INDIA

BY

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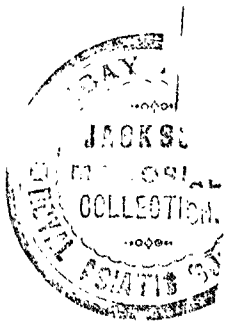

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1893

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MADRAS :
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, LAWRENCE ASYLUM PRESS.

PREFACE.

THE main object of this work is to prove from existing sources, so far as they are available to me, that the original inhabitants of India, with the exception of a small minority of foreign immigrants, belong all to one and the same race, branches of which are spread over the continents of Asia and Europe, and which is also known as Finnish-Ugrian or Turanian. The branch which is domiciled in India should, according to my opinion, be called *Bharatan*, because the Bharatas were in olden times its most numerous and most honoured representatives, after whom the country received its name Bharatavarṣa or Bhāratavarṣa.

The favoured spots in which, in primeval periods, men preferred to select their dwellings, were the highlands, hills, and mountains; for these regions afforded greater protection not only against the attacks of men and of wild beasts, but also against the fury of the unfettered elements, especially against the ravages of sudden and disastrous inundations. Though the plains were not altogether uninhabited, still the bulk of the population preferred, where obtainable, the higher and more secure places. I believe that the Bharatas were essentially a race of mountaineers, and that their name is intimately connected with the Gauda-Dravidian root *para, pārai*, mountain, a circumstance to which I draw attention.[1]

[1] See pages 13, 32, 33.

The Bharatas divided at an early date into two great sections, which were known in antiquity, as Kuru-Pañcalas and Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, and afterwards as Gaudians and Dravidians, and as Kuruvas or Kurumbas and Mallas or Malayas, etc. All these names, too, are derived from words which denote mountains. However nearly related these tribes were to each other, they never lived together in close friendship, and although they were not always perhaps at open war, yet feelings of distrust and aversion seem always to have prevailed.

Though positive evidence in favour of my assertions was very difficult to obtain, still, it was incumbent on me to verify my statements by the best means available. In order to do so, I had to betake myself to the fields of language and religion, which in matters of this kind are the most reliable and precious sources of information. For language and religion manifest in a peculiar manner the mental condition of men, and though both differ in their aim and result, yet the mind which directs and animates both is the same, so that though they work in different grooves, the process of thinking is in both identical. Besides the mental character, we must not neglect the physical complement which is supplied by ethnology, and in this case the physical evidence of ethnology supports thoroughly the conclusions at which I had arrived from consulting the language and religion of the inhabitants of India.

In the first two parts I have treated separately of the two branches of the Bharatas, relying mainly on the linguistic and historical material at my disposal concerning the ethnological position of the Dravidians and Gaudians. The principal Gauda-Dravidian tribes who live scattered over the length and breadth of the vast Indian continent are, in order to establish their mutual kinship, separately introduced into this discussion. This method

may create in the minds of some readers an impression that the several topics are somewhat disconnected, but this arrangement was necessitated by the peculiarity of the subject of my inquiry.

In pursuing the ramifications of the Bharatan, or Gauda-Dravidian, population throughout the peninsula, I hope I have been able to point out the connexion existing between several tribes, apparently widely different from each other. I have tried thus to identify the so-called Pariahs of Southern India with the old Dravidian mountaineers and to establish their relationship to the Bhārs, Brahuis, Mhārs, Mahārs, Pahārias, Paravāri, Pāradas and other tribes; all these tribes forming, as it were, the first layer of the ancient Dravidian deposit. In a similar manner I have identified the Caṇḍālas with the first section of the Gaudian race which was reduced to abject slavery by the Aryan invaders, and shown their connexion with the ancient Kaṇḍālas and the present Gonds. In addition to this, I trust I have proved that such apparently different tribes as the Mallas, Pallas, Pallavas, Ballas, Bhillas and others are one and all offshoots of the Dravidian branch, and that the Kolis, Kōis, Khonds, Koḍagas, Koṛavas, Kuṛumbas and others belong to the Gaudian division, both branches forming in reality only portions of one and the same people, whom I prefer to call, as I have said, Bharatas.

Where there is so much room for conjecture, it is easy enough, of course, to fall into error, and I shall be prepared to be told that many of my conclusions are erroneous and the hypotheses on which they are built fanciful. But though much of what I have written may be shown to be untenable, I shall yet be satisfied if, in the main, I establish my contention, and I shall deem myself amply repaid for my labor if I succeed in restoring the Gaudian and Dravidian to those rights and honors of which they have so long been deprived.

In the third part which treats on Indian Theogony I have endeavoured to give a short sketch of some of the most prominent features of the Aryan and non-Aryan beliefs. After noticing briefly the reverence which the Vedic hymns display towards the Forces of Nature, which develops gradually into the acceptance of a Supreme Being (*Brahman*), I go on to show how the idea of an impersonal God, a perception too high and abstract to be grasped by the masses of the population, gradually gave place to the recognition of a personal Creator, with whom were associated eventually the two figure-heads of Preservation and Destruction, all these three together forming the Trimūrti as represented by Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

About the time that the ancient Vedic views began to undergo a change, and the idea of the existence of a Supreme Spirit impressed itself on the minds of the thoughtful, the non-Aryan Principle of the Female Energy was introduced into the Aryan system. This dogma which originated with the Turanian races of Asia, and was thus also acknowledged in ancient Babylonia, soon exercised a powerful influence, and pervaded the whole religion of the Aryans in India. Its symbol was in India the Sālagrāma-stone, which Viṣṇu afterwards appropriated as his emblem.

I have further tried to show how the contact with the non-Aryan population affected the belief of the Aryans and modified some of the features of their deities. *Brahman* was thus, by assimilating himself with the non-Aryan chief-god and demon-king Aiyanār, transformed into a Brahmabhūta, while the very same Aiyanār was changed into *Śiva* in his position as demon-king or Bhūtanātha, and *Viṣṇu* became gradually identified by a great section of the Brahmanic community with the Female Principle and taken for Umā.

The religious opinions of the original inhabitants were

on the other hand not left unchanged as the result of their intercourse with the Aryans, and many ideas and many of the deities of the invader were received into their religion. The prominent features of this religion lay in the adoration of the Principle of the Female Energy, or Śakti, as represented by the chief local goddess or Grāmadēvatā, in the acknowledgment of a Supreme God revered under such names as Aiyanār (Śāsta), and in the worship of Demons.

I trust now that the racial unity of the great majority of the Indian population has been established by this research based mainly on linguistic and theological evidence, as it has also been proved independently by ethnological enquiries.

In order to perpetuate by an outward sign the racial union of the overwhelming majority of the population of India, I venture to suggest that the inhabitants of this country would do well, if they were to assume the ancient, honorable and national name of Bharatas, remembering that India has become famous as Bharatavarṣa, the land of the Bharatas.

In such a multitude of subjects, it was only possible for me to formulate my ideas in a somewhat imperfect manner, without being able to treat separately every particular subject as thoroughly and completely as it deserved, and as I had wished to treat it. I make this observation to show that I am fully cognizant of the incompleteness of this enquiry, but, I trust, I have at least succeeded in making clear its purport and significance. If time and circumstances had permitted, I should have added some chapters on some essential topics, and enlarged the scope of others, but my impending departure from India has compelled me to be brief. If this book should be deemed worthy of another edition, I hope to be able to remedy these defects. It is here perhaps not out of place to mention, that the first portions of this book appeared some years ago, the

first Part being printed as early as 1888, and it is possible that the publication of this work in fragments has been attended with some disadvantages.

I am thus well aware of the many defects in a publication like this, but I trust that even my errors may not be without use, if, like stranded vessels, they serve to direct the explorer, warning him away from the shoals and rocks that beset the enquirer in his search after truth.

GUSTAV OPPERT.

MADRAS, *14th February*, 1893.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, ḥ, ḫ, a, ā.
c, ch, j, jh, ñ, ś, y, i, ī, e[1], ē, ai.
ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ, r, ṛ, ṝ.
t, th, d, dh, n, s, l, ḷ, ḹ.
p, ph, b, bh, m, ḥ v, u ū, o[1], ō, añ.
Anusvāra ṁ ; ṟ, ḷ, ḻ are peculiar to the Dravidian languages.

[1] Used in the Dravidian languages.

On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa or India.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

General Remarks.

No one who undertakes to study the ancient history of India can fail to be impressed by the scantiness of the material at his disposal. In fact such an undertaking would soon appear to be futile, were he to depend solely on Indian accounts and records. Fortunately, however, we possess some writings of foreigners who visited India; and their reports of what they actually saw during their stay in this country, and of what they were able to gather from trustworthy sources, furnish us with materials of a sufficiently reliable character. If we except Kashmir and Ceylon, regarding the latter as belonging to India, no part of India possesses anything like a continuous historical record. The preponderance of caste and the social prejudices it creates are disabilities such as no Hindu who wishes to relate the history of his country can entirely overcome. The natives of India have, as a rule, little sympathy with people outside their own class, and when it is believed that persons belonging to the highest caste can by their piety ensure final beatitude, if they simply remember and revere the memory of their three immediate predecessors—father, grandfather, and great grandfather—we need not wonder at the apathy displayed towards history by them and by others who are beneath them in the social scale.

Yet, if the study of Indian history has up to now not proved interesting to the Hindus themselves—and there exist many good reasons why this has been and is still the case—this fact need not discourage foreigners, who are interested in this subject, from pursuing it.

It is true no doubt that the results which have been obtained from decipherings and archæological researches in India, must appear insignificant when compared with what has been achieved elsewhere in the same fields. Still, there is no need to despair of final success, for our knowledge and material are daily increasing, though Indian history at present, becomes interesting only when it throws light on the communal, legal and social conditions of the people, or on their intercourse and relation with foreigners.

Owing to the meagreness and often to the untrustworthiness of the historical material, an Indian historian must be continually on the look-out for new tracks in which to pursue his researches. The task of a scientific historian is difficult in itself, but it is made still more so, if a scholar is anxious to make original researches and strike out for himself a new path in Indian history, as, in addition to other qualifications, he must be a linguist possessing some knowledge of the language of the people into whose past he is inquiring.

The limited number of Indian historical records, including architectural, palæographical, numismatic and similar antiquities, compels a student of Indian history to draw within his range subjects other than those usually regarded as strictly historical, *e.g.*, the names of nations and individuals, of countries and towns, of mountains and rivers, and such other topics, in which he believes that historical relics lie concealed.

I have selected as the subject of this inquiry the people to whom I assign in default of a better name that of Gauda-Dravidian, who by the extensive area they occupied, and over

which their descendants are still scattered, are well worthy of a careful research being made into their past history.

Philological Remarks.

Before entering upon the historical part of this inquiry, a few general philological remarks will not be out of place. Every one who is even slightly acquainted with the laws which govern the interchange of letters, knows that the labial nasal *m* is often permuted into the other labials as *p*, *b*, or *v* and *vice versâ*. *Mumba* is thus changed to Bombay, and *Mallava* into Ballava; *Marukaccha* is identical with *Bharukaccha*; Sanskrit *pramāṇa* is altered to Kanarese *pavaṇu* or *havaṇu*, measure; *maṭṭai*, stem, in Tamil resembles *paṭṭai*, bark; *maḍandai* in Tamil, woman, corresponds to *paḍati* in Telugu, and *Mallar* to Pallar, &c. On the other hand, *Bhavāni* becomes Bhamāni; *Vānam*, heaven, is changed in Tamil to *Mānam*; *Palavanēri* to Palamanēri; *Pallava* to Vallama (Velama) and Vallamba; *pallāḍu*, goat, in Tamil, to vellāḍu; *Vaḍavan* to Vaḍaman; the words *Ciṟuvan* and Ciṟuman, *youth*, both occur; *piṟaṅku*, to shine, in Tamil corresponds to the Telugu *meruṅgu*, &c.

The above-mentioned rule is general and applies to other languages as well, for in Greek, *omma*, *e.g.*, becomes *oppa*; *meta*, peda; *membras*, bembras; *pallein*, ballein, and *patein*, batein, &c.; but nowhere else does there exist such a variety and difference of pronunciation as in the vernacular languages of India. Their system of writing is a proof of this fact. Tamil has, *e.g.*, only one sign for the four sounds[1] belonging to each of the five classes; in fact 20 different sounds are expressed by five letters, and even where, as in Telugu, these 20 sounds are provided with 20

[1] க for k, kh, g, gh; ச for c, ch, j, jh; ட for ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh; த for t, th, d, dh; and ப for p, ph, b, bh. In their transliteration accordingly are only used *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p*, which indicate the letter, but not the sound.

distinct characters, the pronunciation still remains so uncertain, that in his Telugu Dictionary the late Mr. C. P. Brown arranged these four letters respectively under one head. The cause of this striking peculiarity and these continual permutations is to be found partly no doubt in indefinite pronunciation and dialectical divergencies, but mainly in the strict enforcement of the over-stringent and artificial rules of Sandhi or Euphony, which affect alike vowels and consonants, and which do not, *e.g.*, permit a word in the middle of a sentence to begin with a vowel. Local differences in pronunciation exist in India as well as in other countries. Amongst these the interchanges between *tenues* and *mediae* are most common; we find them in Wales and in German Saxony, where the tenues *p*, *t*, and *k* are to this day confounded with the mediae *b*, *d*, and *g*, or *vice versâ*.

The three Dravidian *l*'s (*l* ல, *ḷ* ள and *ḻ* ழ) however differently they may be pronounced, are only varieties of the same sound and are therefore interchangeable, thus, *e.g.*, the Sanskrit *phalam* becomes in Tamil *palam* பலம், or *paḷam* பழம், while *mallam* மல்லம் becomes *maḷḷam* மள்ளம், *veḷḷāḷan* வெள்ளாளன் is also spelt *veḷḷāḻan* வெள்ளாழன், and a village or town is called *palli* பல்லி (*valli* வல்லி), *paḷḷi* பள்ளி, or *pāḷi* பாழி. The harsher sound is generally used by the lower classes, and where these pronounce an ல *l* or ள *ḷ*, a high caste-man will lisp a ழ *ḻ*, which letter is probably a modern innovation prevailing specially in Malayālam and Tamil.

As the different *l*'s interchange between each other, so do the two Dravidian *r* and *ṟ*;[2] a hard double ற்ற *ṟṟ* is pronounced in Tamil somewhat like a double *tt*,[3] which circum-

[2] Tamil ர் and ற், Telugu ర and ఱ, Kanarese ರ and ಱ, Malayālam ര and റ.

[3] The Tamil ற்ற is represented occasionally in Telugu by ట్ట, *e.g.*, the Tamil புற்று, *puṟṟu*, corresponds to the Telugu పుట్ట *puṭṭa*.

stance is a proof of the relationship between the *r* and *ṭ* sounds. After this statement the permutation between the lingual *ḍ* and the *r* and *l* sounds will not create any surprise. Some of these changes are pretty common elsewhere; they occur in the Aryan as well as in the Dravidian languages.

A further peculiarity of the Dravidian languages, and especially of Tamil, is their dislike to beginning words with compound letters: *Brahma* becomes Piramam, பிரமம் ; *prabandha*, pirapantam, பிரபந்தம் ; *grantha*, kirantam, கிரந்தம். In consequence of indistinct pronunciation and the desire for abbreviation, initial and medial consonants are often dropped at the beginning or in the middle of words, while on the other hand in opposition to this tendency a half-consonant is prefixed to an initial vowel, in order to prevent a word from beginning with a vowel. We thus occasionally meet words whose initial consonants are dropped and replaced by half-consonants, *e.g.*, *vella*, white, in Telugu becomes *ella* and *yella*, *vesa*, haste, *esa* and *yesa*, the name of the *Billavar* of Travancore becomes Ilavar and Yilavar; Vēlūr becomes Ēlūr and Yēlūr. This practice of prefixing a half-consonant before an initial vowel is generally enforced in the middle of a sentence, —a *y* is thus placed before an *a*, *e*, *i*, and *ai* and a *v* before *o*, *u*, and *au*. The half-consonant is used to avoid an hiatus and this explains why the University-degrees M.A. and B.A. are pronounced by many Natives *Yam Ya* and *Be Ya*. Metathesis is likewise of not unfrequent occurrence in the Dravidian languages. It is even found in words of common occurrence, in *kurudai*, *e.g.*, for *kudirai*, horse; in *Marudai* for the town Madura; in *Verul* for Elōra (Vēlūr or Ballōra); in *Vaikāśam* (வைகாசம்) and *Vaikāśi* (வைகாசி) for *Vaiśākham* and *Vaiśākhi*; in the Telugu *agapa* and *abaka*, ladle, &c.

Another peculiarity is to drop one of two consonants in a syllable and to lengthen the vowel if it happens to be short, or to double a consonant and to shorten the vowel,

if it happens to be long ; *e.g.*, చెయ్యుట *ceyyuṭa* for చేయుట *cēyuṭa*, *Veḷḷāḷan* for *Vēḷāḷan*, *Palla* for *Pāla*, &c.

It will be readily perceived that this laxity of pronunciation affords a wide field for philological conjectures, and that, if we choose as an example the representative name of the *Malla* or *Palla* tribe, a variety of forms for *Mara* and *Malla*, or *Para* and *Palla*, which actually occur, can be retraced to the common source, and thus be shown to have a sound basis. The task which a philologist has to perform is a serious one and ought to make him cautious. Considerable and unexpected difficulties also arise from the great similarity of many Sanskrit and Dravidian words with *Mara*, *Malla* and their derivatives.[4] The explanations of names of persons, tribes, places, &c., so readily tendered by the Natives

[4] A few of such similar words are in *Sanskrit : para*, other, *pala*, m., straw, n., flesh, *pala*, m., barn, *pallava*, m., n., sprout, *palvala*, m., pond, *pāla*, m., guard, *pula* great, *phala*, n., fruit, *phāla*, m., n., ploughshare, *phulla*, open, *bala*, n., power, *bali*, m., oblation, *bāla*, young, *bhāla*, n., forehead, *mara*, killing, *mala*, n., dirt, *malli*, f., jasmine, *māra*, killing, *māla*, n., field, *mālā*, f., garland, *valla*, covering, *vallabha*, m., lover, *valli* (ī), f., creeper, &c.; in *Tamil: alam*, plough, *alli*, lily, *alliyam*, village of herdsmen, *aḷai*, cave, *ālam*, water, *palar* (*pallār*), many persons, *palam*, strength, fruit, flesh, *pali*, sacrifice, *pal*, tooth, *pallam*, bear, arrow, *palli*, lizard, *paḷam*, old, *paḷam*, fruit, *paḷi*, blame, *paḷai*, hole, *paḷḷam*, lowness, *paḷḷayam* (*paḷḷaiyam*), offering to demons, *paḷḷaicci*, dwarfish woman, *pāl*, milk, *pālam*, bridge, *pālar*, herdsmen, *pālai*, arid, *pāḷi*, cave, village, *pāḷayam* (*pāḷaiyam*) country, camp, *pāḷi*, encampment, *pāḷai*, palmtree, *pilli*, demon, *pulam*, ricefield, *pulāl*, flesh, *pulai*, flesh, *pul*, meanness, *pullu*, grass, *pullam*, ignorant, *puḷḷi*, lizard, *malam*, excretion, *malar*, flower, *malai*, hill, *mal*, boxing, *mallam*, strength, *malli*, jasmine, *mallu*, wrestling, *maḷai*, rain, *maḷḷam*, strength, *māḷ*, greatness, *mullai*, jasmine, *muḷ*, *muḷḷu*, thorn, *mēl*, above, *valam*, rightside, *valam*, power, *vali*, strength, *valu*, strong, *valai*, net, *vallar*, strong persons, *vallapan*, beloved, *vallavan*, shepherd, *valli*, woman, village, *valliyam*, village of shepherds, *vaḷuti*, poetical epithet of the Pandya kings, *vaḷappam*, *vaḷamai*, *vaḷam*, *vaḷan*, strength, *voḷavan*, epithet of Cōḷa, *vallam*, corn measure, *valliyam*, pipe, pepper, *vāḷai*, plantain, *vāḷ*, sword, *vil*, bow, *villi*, Manmatha, *veḷ*, white, *veḷḷam*, inundation, *velli*, silver, *vēl*, lance, *vēli*, village, *vēḷam*, sugarcane-reed, &c.; in *Telugu : ala*, wave, *ala* (*alla*), then, *alli*, water, lily, *allc*, bowstring, *ela*, young, *ella*, all, limit, white (*vella*), *palla* (*pulla*), red, reddish, *pōḷemu*, camp, *paḷemu*, saucer, *pāla*, name of a tree, white, jay, *pālu*, share, milk, *pilla*, child, *pilli*, cat, *puli* (*pulla*), sour, *puli*, tiger, *pulu* (*pullu*), grass, *pulla*, piece, *balla*, bench, *bhāḷi*, affection, *maḷa*, mountain, *malamu*, dirt, *malu*, again, *malla*

of India and seemingly supported by some legendary and historical evidence, must be viewed with extreme caution and distrust. It is not an uncommon occurrence to make a statement of this kind, and afterwards to invent corroborative evidence. This is often not done with any desire to mislead, but rather because it affords a fair display for speculative ingenuity. If, *e.g.*, a rich man of a high caste acquires a Paṟaicēri, he will alter its name so as to hide the low origin of his property and to impart to it a sacred appearance. Near Madras is situated the well-known hill called St. Thomas' Mount. Its name in Tamil is Paraṅgi Malai or Mountain of the Franks or Europeans, from the original European or rather Portuguese settlement. Some years ago a Brahman settlement was established there and the name of Paraṅgi Malai was no longer deemed respectable. Thenceforth it was changed to Bhṛṅgi Malai, the mountain of the sacred Bhṛṅgi, and eventually in support of this appellation legendary evidence was not slow in forthcoming.[5]

(*malli*) again, *malle* (*mallelu*), jasmine, *māla* (*māle*, *mālika*), garland, *māli*, gardener, *māle*, house, *mulu* (*mullu*), thorn, *mūle*, corner, *mella*, hall, *mēlamu*, fun, *mēlu*, good, upper, *maila*, unclean, *vala*, right, net, *valla*, stratagem, *valle*, noose, *vāli*, custom, *vālu*, long, sword, *vilu* (*villu*), bow, *vīlu*, expedient, *vela*, price, *vella*, white, *velluva*, flood, *vēla*, limit, *vēḷa*, time, *vēlu* 1000, toe, &c.

Considering the changes the letters undergo in Dravidian words, when *paḷḷāḍu*, goat, is also written *veḷḷāḍu* and *pala*, flesh, becomes *pulai* and *Vallūru* is also written *Vālūru*, *Vellūru*, *Yellūru*, &c., similar alterations need not create any great surprise, especially if it is admitted that small orthographical changes assist their being the more easily distinguished. As an illustration how the names of the Mallas and Pallas appear in local appellations I only add as an example a few such names as Mallapur, Pallapur, Ballapur, Vallapur, Yallapur, Allapur, Ellapur, Vellapur, Yellapur, Illapur, Villapur, Vollūru, Ullapur, Vullapur, Mālavūr, Pālavūr, Balapur, Vālapur, Yālapetta, Ēlapur, Ēlavūr, Vēlapur, Yēlagiri, &c., &c.

[5] An example of the spurious character of similar writings is exhibited by the Sthalapurāṇa that contains the origin of the *Gunnybag-weavers*, which, though of recent origin, is by some incorporated in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

A curious instance of the alteration of a name is supplied by the Barber's bridge near St. Thomé in Madras. It was originally named *Hamilton's*

It might appear that when so many changes are possible, no reliance can be placed on such evidence, but these permutations do not all take place at the same time, indeed dialectical pronunciation selects some letters in preference to others. The northern Hindu pronounces, a *B*, where the southern prefers a *V*, and both letters occur only in border districts; thus no *B* is found in the names of such places situated in the Chingleput, South-Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly, and Malabar districts, while in South-Kanara, Ganjam and Mysore a *V* is seldom used.

These few preliminary philological remarks are absolutely necessary to facilitate the understanding of the subsequent discussion. The important position which language occupies in such a research as the present was well pointed out more than forty years ago, by the Pioneer of North-Indian Ethnology, the learned B. H. Hodgson, when he wrote in the preface to his first Essay: "And the more I see of these primitive races the stronger becomes my conviction that there is no medium of investigation yielding such copious and accurate data as their languages."

Historical Remarks.

Turning from these linguistic to historical topics, we know as a fact that when tracing the records of any nation or country as far back as possible, we arrive at a period when all authentic or provable accounts cease. We have then reached the prehistoric stage. What occurred during that epoch can never be verified. When the mist of historic darkness disappears from the plains and mountains of a country, the existing inhabitants and their dwellings become

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bridge after a gentleman of that name. The word *Hamilton*, being difficult to pronounce in Tamil, was changed into *amaṭṭan* (common form for *ampaṭṭan*) which means in Tamil a *barber*, whence by retranslation into English the bridge was called Barber's bridge.

visible, but whether these are in reality the first settlers and their abodes the first erected, is another question which does not properly belong to the domain of history, so long as we are unable to assert its relevancy or to find an answer to it. Whether the people of whom we first hear in a country are really its aborigines may be doubtful; but so long as no earlier inhabitants can be discovered, they must be regarded as such. So far as historical traces can be found in the labyrinth of Indian antiquity, it was the Gauda-Dravidians who lived and tilled the soil and worked the mines in India.

This discussion does not concern the so-called Kolarian tribes, whose connection with the ancient history of India is so very obscure, that we possess hardly any historical accounts about them.

However considerable and apparently irreconcilable may appear the differences exhibited by the various Gauda-Dravidian tribes in their physical structure and colour, in their language, religion, and art, all these differences can be satisfactorily accounted for by the physical peculiarities of the localities they inhabited, by the various occupations they followed, and by the political status which regulated their domestic and social habits. For every one must be aware of the fact that change of abode and change in position have worked, and are working, the most marvellous alterations in the physical and mental constitution of individuals and nations. Language, especially the spirit which pervades it, is the most enduring witness of the connection which exists between nations, and with its help we can often trace the continuity of descent from the same stock in tribes seemingly widely different.

From the north-west across to the north-east, and from both corners to the furthest south, the presence of the Gauda-Dravidian race in India can be proved at a very early period. On the arrival of the Aryans on the north-western frontier, the Gauda-Dravidians are already found in flourishing

communities. But successive waves of the Aryan invasion, swelled in their course by the accession of former opponents who had despaired of successful resistance, must soon have flooded over the Gauda-Dravidian settlements. Some by their prowess were able to maintain their ground against the invaders, while others, defeated, left their abodes and emigrated towards the South. Yet even the North, subject though it became in time to the Aryan or rather Brahmanical sway, can never be said to have been totally conquered by force of arms. Still less was this the case with the South, where the Brahmanical influence always assumed a more civic and priestly character; influence, which though of another kind, can hardly be deemed less powerful, since it is more lasting and more thorough. Even the Aryanised languages of North-India—however they may prove the mental superiority of the invaders who were able to force on their defeated foes their peculiar mode of thinking—manifest their origin in their vocabularies and show the inability of the victors to press on the vanquished their own language. The languages of both, victors and vanquished, amalgamated and formed new dialects, and the difference which exists between the abstract synthetic Sanskrit and the concrete agglutinated Dravidian is clearly expressed. This difference is easily observable when we compare on the one hand the construction of Sanskrit with that of such Aryanised languages, as Bengāli and Marāthi, which possess a considerable substratum of a non-Aryan element, and on the other hand the construction of Latin with that of the Neo-latin languages French and Spanish, which may be considered as entirely Aryan. I have alluded to this fact in my "Classification of Languages." Hindustāni is a fair specimen of such a miscegenation of languages.

The earliest mention of a Gauda-Dravidian word is to be found in the Bible. In the first book of Kings, x. 22, we read as follows: *For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish*

with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks."[6] The expression for peacocks is *tukkiyyīm*, a word derived from the Gauda-Dravidian *toka* (*tokai* or *togai*), which originally signifies the tail of a peacock and eventually a peacock itself. It exists in Telugu, Tamil, Malayālam, Kanarese, Gondi and elsewhere. The identification of *tukki* (*tūki*) with *tokai* is very old indeed, and is already quoted as well known in the early editions of the Hebrew dictionary of Wilhelm Gesenius.[7] The mere fact that the sailors of Solomon and Hiram designated a special Indian article by a Gauda-Dravidian word, renders it probable that the inhabitants with whom they traded were Gauda-Dravidians and that Gauda-Dravidian was the language of the country. The Aryan influence could at that time hardly have been strong enough to supplant the current vernacular, or to force upon it a Prakritised Aryan term. Moreover, the peacock is a well-known bird, common all over India, and it is highly improbable that the Gauda-Dravidians should have waited for the arrival of the Aryans to name it, or should have dropped their own term in order to adopt in its stead an Aryan one. The vocal resemblance between the Hebrew *kōph* and the Sanskrit *kapi* is most likely accidental. The ancient Egyptians, who kept monkeys in their temples, called a monkey *kāf*. Besides it cannot at all be assumed that the sailors of the fleet of Tharshish did not know monkeys. May not *kōph*, *kāf*, *kapi*, &c., after all be an *Onomatopoiëtikon?* Another word which proves the connection of the Gauda-Dravidians with foreign nations is supplied by

[6] The Hebrew words in 1 Kings, x. 22, are: *Oni Tharṣīṣ nōsēth sāhāb vākesceph ṣenhabbīm veqōphīm vethukkiyyīm.* 2 Chronicles, ix. 21, has a long *ū* and reads *vethūkkiyyīm*. The derivation of *ṣenhabbīm* is still doubtful.

[7] See also my lecture *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 25. The derivation of *Almuggīm* or *Algūmmīm* from *valgu* as the sandalwood is called in different places, 1 Kings, x. 11, 12, and 2 Chronicles, ii. 7; ix. 10, 11, is very doubtful, and I hesitate to derive it from Sanskrit.

the Greek word *oryza* for rice, which corresponds to the Gauda-Dravidian *ariśi*, and not to the Sanskrit *vrīhi*.[8]

The Aryan invaders showed little sympathy with the inhabitants they found on the confines and in the interior of India. The outward appearance of the Dāsas or Dasyus—these were the names with which the new-comers honoured their opponents—was not such as to create a favourable impression, and they were in consequence taunted with their black colour and flat noses, which latter made their faces appear as if they had no noses. Indra is invoked to reduce into the darkness of subjection the colour of the Dāsas and to protect the colour of his worshippers, for the latter were not always successful in the combats, and the Dāsas at times turned the tables on their foes by becoming victorious aggressors.

So far as civilisation is concerned, a great difference could hardly have existed between the two races when they first met. However rude may have been the bulk of the indigenous population, a considerable portion of it must have already attained a certain degree of cultivation. It was no doubt the wealth which they had acquired that stimulated the invaders to pursue their conquests, even when a brave

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[8] See my lecture *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 37: "Of grains *Rice* formed an important commodity. The cultivation of rice extended in ancient times only as far west as to Bactria, Susiana, and the Euphrates valley. The Greeks most likely obtained their rice from India, as this country alone produced it in sufficient quantity to be able to export it. Moreover the Grecian name for rice *oryza*, for which there exists no Aryan or Sanskrit root, has been previously identified by scholars with the Tamil word *ariśi*, which denotes rice deprived of the husk. This was exactly the state in which rice was exported. The Greeks besides connected rice generally with India. Athenæos quotes *oryza hephthē*, cooked rice, as the food of the Indians, and Aelianus mentions a wine made of rice as an Indian beverage. If now the Greek received their rice from India, and the name they called this grain by is a Dravidian word, we obtain an additional proof of the non-Aryan element represented in the Indian trade."

Arṣi, rice, occurs also in Koikadi, and *ariselu*, ricecakes, in Telugu.

and stubborn resistance warned the Aryans not to drive to despair the various chieftains who had retreated to their mountain strongholds. The bravery of the Dāsas excited the admiration of their opponents. Indra himself occasionally protects the Dāsas, the Aryan priest deigns to accept his offering, and the divine Aśvins partake even of his food. Though both the terms *Dasyu* and *Dāsa* originally denote a destroyer, at times a malevolent superhuman being, and at times in contrast to *Ārya*, an enemy of the gods or a wicked man, and are in this sense specially applied to the aboriginal races who stood outside the Brahmanical pale, yet the expression *Dāsa* continued to be contemptuously used by one Aryan against another, till it became in time equivalent to a common menial or slave.

Division between Gaudians and Dravidians.

The foemen whom the Aryans first encountered were generally brave mountaineers who offered a stout resistance in their numerous castles. Indeed, most tribal names of the inhabitants of India will be shown to refer to mountains.

The two special Gauda-Dravidian terms for mountain are *mala* (*malai*, *pār*, *pāṛāi*, &c.) and *ko* (*koṇḍa*, *kuṛu*, *kunṛu*, *koṛa*, &c.). Both kinds of expressions are widely used and prevail throughout India. Hence are derived the names of the *Mallas*, *Mālas*, *Mālavas*, *Malayas*,[9] &c., and of the *Kōyis*, *Kōdulu*, *Koṇḍas*, *Goṇḍas*, *Gauḍas*, *Kuruvas*, &c. I shall in future call those tribes whose names are derived from *mala* Dravidians, and those whose names are derived from *ko* Gaudians.

[9] Concerning the single and double *l* which is found respectively in Malaya, Malla and in their derivatives, it should be considered that the Dravidian languages do not possess fixed orthographical rules regarding proper names and that single and double letters are often used indifferently. A mountaineer is thus generally described in South-India as *Mālayan* or *Malaiyan*, while *Mallan* also denotes an inhabitant of a mountainous district.

PART I.

THE DRAVIDIANS.

CHAPTER II.

The names of Ancient Kings and Asuras indicate the names of the people over whom they ruled.

Among the tribes and people whom I regard as Dravidians, whose names are derived either directly from *Mala* or from cognate terms, and who are of the same race as the *Mallas* or *Pallas*, which term is chosen on p. 6 as their representative designation, I may mention the Māras (Mhārs, Mahārs, Mahāras or Mālas), Māris, Maṟavar, Pariahs, Parjas, Paravar, Paravārī, *Πωρούαροι*, Pāratas, *Παροῦται*, Pāradas, Parheyas, Bārs (Bhārs, *Βάῤῥαι*), Brahuis; the Mallas (*Μαλλοί*, Malli), Mālas (Māls or Māras), Malà Arayar, Malacar, Malayālis, Mālavas, (Mālvas), Mālair (Māler or Pahārias), Mallar or Pallar, the Palliyar, Polaiyar, Pulayar, Holiyar, Pulindas (*Πουλίνδαι*), Puṇḍras, Pallis, Pālas, Pālis, Pallavas (Palhavas, Pahlavas, Pahnavas, Plavas), Pāṇḍyas, Ballas, Bhallas, Bhīls (Bhillas, *Φυλλῖται*), Bhillālas, Ballālas, Vellālar, Velamas (Vallamas, Vallambams), Valluvar, &c.[10]

The Ṛgvēda only rarely confers special names on the Indians who opposed the Aryans, and these names wherever they occur cannot be easily recognised and explained.

On the other hand the Indian gods adopted, particularly in later times, the names of the demons they had defeated in

[10] The Mavêlla or *Māvēllaka* whom Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (vol. I, p. 751, or 605) identifies with the Megalloi of Megasthenes as occupying Mārwār, might perhaps be added to this list.

combat in order to perpetuate the memory of their victories. A natural assumption leads one to infer that the names of the conquered demons or Asuras represent those of the forces they led to battle, and that the Asuras Malla, Bala, Bali, Bāla, Bāli or Vāli, Vala [11] and others were chiefs of the aboriginal race.

Kṛṣṇa is thus called Mallāri,[12] the enemy or destroyer of the Asura *Malla;* Indra is renowned as Valadviṣ or Valanāśana, enemy or destroyer of the demon *Vala,*[13] the brother of Vṛtra, and as Balanāśana and Balārāti, enemy or destroyer of *Bala.*[14] Viṣṇu goes by the name of Balidhvaṁsin,[15] for he defeated the great giant king *Bali* in the shape of a dwarf in the Vāmana Avatāra. Rāma covers his name with doubtful glory by killing in unfair fight the mighty so-called monkey-king *Bāli* or Vāli, the brother of Sugrīva; hence Rāma's name Bālihantṛ.

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[11] Though *Vala* need not be taken in the Ṛgvēda as a demon, he is regarded as such in later works. He may perhaps have been confounded later on with Bala.

[12] *Mallāri* or *Malhārī* is in the Marātha country regarded as an incarnation of Śiva, and is also called Khaṇḍōbā.

[13] Or Valabhit, Valavṛtraghna, Valavṛtrahan, Valasūdana, Valahantṛ, and Valārāti.

[14] Or Balaniṣūdana, Balabhit and Balasūdana.

[15] Or Balibandhana and Balihan. *Bali* or Mahābali was the son of *Virōcana* and father of *Bāṇa.* He ruled over the three worlds, established, according to the Matsya-Purāṇa, at the desire of Brahma, the four castes, and was eventually reduced by Viṣṇu to become the king of Pātāla. He is still the most popular legendary king among the whole Hindu population, especially in South-India. We find a *Mahābalipura* on the *Son* river in the North, and near Madras in the South. The people remember to this day the prosperity enjoyed under his sway. Once a year Bali is said to visit the earth, but this visit is not celebrated simultaneously throughout India. His greatest feast falls on the fullmoon in the month of Kārttiki, when the corn standing in the fields, the cow-houses, wells, and particularly the dwelling-houses, are illuminated with lamps. In Mysore popular songs are sung in his praise on the last day of the Navarātri. The Hindu people worship him also during the Pongal, when gourds (in Sanskrit *kūṣmāṇḍa*) are given to Brahmans. Bali is worshipped in Malabar on the Ōṇam festival. He does not die and is one of the seven Cirajīvins.

Beginning of Peaceful Intercourse and Intermarriage between Aryans and Dravidians.

With the decrease of the Aryan immigration into India, their actual conquests ceased and the new comers, once established in the country, devised more peaceful means to perpetuate and extend their power. Colonists and missionaries visited the hitherto unapproached provinces and tried to win by their superior knowledge and civilisation the good will of the natives. Intermarriage recommended itself as the most efficient means to gain this object, though the race-pride of the conquering nation shrank from such misalliances.

In order to sanction them the example of the gods was needed, and Subrahmaṇya, the South-Indian representative of Kārttikēya, the son of Śiva, who delights to reside in wild forests and weird mountain tops is credited with having chosen a South-Indian girl called *Valli*[16] as his wife. Valli is a well-known female name common among the Pariahs and Pallar, the Pallis and other Śūdras, and corresponds to the equally-widely used man's name Malla. Valli is also celebrated as the Amman of Vaiṣṇava gods.[17] The

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[16] He is the presiding deity of many mountains, as *Tirupparaṅkuṇṟan*, *Cāmimalai* (or Paḷani), *Cōḷaimalai*, &c., and is thus, among other titles, called the ruler of the Paḷani mountain, Paḷani Āṇḍi or Āṇḍavar.

Two wives are generally assigned to Subrahmaṇya. They are called Dēvasēnā (contracted in colloquial Tamil into Tēvānai) and Valli. (Valli-Dēvasēnāsamēta-Subrahmaṇyasvāminē namaḥ.) Subrahmaṇya is therefore also called in Tamil *Vaḷḷimaṇ(av)ālan*, or husband of Vaḷḷi.

[17] The popular derivation of Triplicane (Tiruvallikkēni) i from *Alli*, அல்லி, a kind of water lily; which explanation I believe to be wrong. According to the Sthalapurāṇa of Triplicane *Nārada* goes to Kailāsa to ascertain from Paramēśvara the position of Bṛndāraṇya which lies north-east of Tiruṇṟmalai near Pallāvaram. The sage Bhṛgu lived there near a pond full of lotus, called Kairaviṇī. He worshipped the 5 gods of the place, especially Raṅganātha, who slept under a sandal tree. Near it Bhṛgu found a little girl whom he gave to his wife to nurse. He called her *Vēdavalli*, and married her in due time as Vēdavalli Tāyār to Raṅganāthasvāmi, &c. The ancient temple tank in Triplicane is called *Vēdavallipuṣkariṇī*.

principal goddess in Triplicane, who, [illegible] the Kṣētram and to whom the temple [illegible] Vēdavalli. The god Pārthasārathi is o[illegible] her guest.[18] In Tiruvallūr the Amman is [illegible] in Chidambaram Paṅkajavalli, in Śrīmus[illegible] in Kumbhakōnam there are two, a Kōmalav[illegible] valli, in Maunārgudi a Campakavalli, and [illegible] cōlai as well as in Nāgapatam there is a Su[illegible] The derivation of Valli in these names from *Valli*, creeper, appears doubtful, especially if o[illegible] that Subrahmaṇya's wife, Valli, was a low-ca[illegible] Indian woman, that the Śaiva preceded the Vaiṣṇ[illegible] and that Śaiva temples were occasionally turned into temples. Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva and daughter [illegible] mountain Himālaya, is even worshipped as a Pariah w[illegible] in her disguise as Mātaṅgī. This word is derived Mātaṅga, which signifies a wild mountaineer.[19]

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[18] The difference between *Amman* and *Ammāḷ* (both meaning mother) is that the former expression refers only to goddesses, while the latter is applied both to goddesses and mortal women.

[19] The Śyāmaladaṇḍaka ascribed to Kālidasa contains the following ślōka concerning Mātaṅgī :—

Maṇikyavīṇām upalālayantīm
madālasām mañjulavāgvilāsām
Mahēndranīlōpalakōmalāṅgīm
Mātaṅgakaṇyām manasā smarāmi.

It is perhaps not impossible that there exists a connection between *Mātaṅga* and *Mālaṅga*. The *d* and the *l* are occasionally interchanged, compare the Greek δάκρυ with the Latin *lacryma*. The Malayāḷis consistently pronounce an *l* instead of a *t*, *e.g.*, for *tasmāt kāraṇāt* they say *tasmāl kāraṇāl*. In Marāthi the word Mataṅga has been contracted into Māṅga, see p. 66. Compare also the Dravidian roots *paḷa* and *paṇḍu*, old. Telugu has besides *paṇḍu* also *pāta*.

The Amarakōśa, II, Śūdravarga (X) 20, 21, contains the following ślōkas concerning the Mātaṅga and other out-castes.

Caṇḍāla-Plava-Mātaṅga-Divākirti-Janaṅgamāḥ
Niṣāda-Śvapacāv-Antēvāsi-Cāṇḍāla-Pukkasāḥ
Bhēdāḥ Kirāta-Śabara-Pulindā Mlēcchajātayaḥ.

HAPTER III.

The Mallas.

ne Mallas appears in various forms in As the name of a *people*, we meet it a, Malaja, Malla, Mallaka, Mallava, Māla, rti, &c.; as the name of a *demon* in Malayaja (perhaps also if not connected with *mālā*, Mālyavān and Mālinī), &c.; as the name of a in Malayakētu, Malayadhvaja, Malayanarapati, bha, Malayasiṁha, Malayagandhinī, Malayavāavī, &c.; as the name of a *country* in Malaya, ēśa, Malayabhūmi, Mallabhūmi, Mallarāṣṭra, Māla, Mālavadēśa, Mālavaka, &c.; as the name of a *ain* or *mountain-range* in Malakūṭa, Malaya, Malayaāta, Malayabhūbhṛt, Malayācala, Malayādri, Mālyavān, &c.; as the name of a *river* in Mālavī, &c.; as the name of a *town* in Malayapura, Mallapura, Mallavāstu, Mallaprastha, &c.; as the name of a *plant* in Malayaja, Malayadruma, Malayōdbhava (sandal); Mallaja (Vēllaja, black pepper), &c., &c.

If we include in this list some variations of the sound *Malla*, we may mention the three mind-born sons of Brahma, the famous Prajāpatis *Marīci*, *Pulaha*, and *Pulastya*, who had among their progeny the most reputed Daityas or Rākṣasas, as well as the demon *Pulōman*, whom Indra killed, in order to obviate the curse pronounced against him for his having violated Pulōman's daughter *Śacī*. The name *Marīci* occurs also among the Daityas, *Maraka* among the nations, and *mallaja*, black pepper, is likewise called *marica* or *marīca*.

Maru means in Sanskrit a desert and a mountain, and the expression *Marubhū* is specially applied to Mārwār, but its inhabitants as well as the Mhārs are the representatives

of an old Dravidian stock, like their namesakes the Maṟavar, மறவர், in South-India. It is in itself very improbable, that these tribes should have obtained their name from a foreign source, and it would not be very venturesome to conjecture without any further authentic proof, that there existed in the ancient Dravidian dialect a word *mar* or *marai* for mountain, corresponding to the synonymous Tamil words *pār* and *pāṟai*. And in fact *mar* in the language of the original inhabitants of Mārwār means *hill*, and the Mārs or Mhārs are in reality *hill men*.[20]

The Mallas, as a nation, are repeatedly mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, in various Purāṇas, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, the Lalitavistara and elsewhere. Mallabhūmi and Mallarāṣṭra, which as well as Malayabhūmi refer to the northern parts of India, occur in the Rāmāyāṇa and Mahābhārata. The Siddhāntakaumudī mentions in a passage that refers to Pāṇini, V. 3, 114, the *Mallāḥ* instead of *Bhallāḥ*, which latter expression is found in the commentary to Dr. O. v. Böhtlingk's edition of Pāṇini. This quotation is significant as the Bṛhatsaṁhitā mentions likewise the Bhallas, who represent the modern Bhillas or Bhīls. Bhalla and Bhilla are identical with Malla and are only different pronunciations or formations of the same word.

The Mallas are specially brought to our notice by the circumstance that Buddha, the great reformer of India, preferred to die among the Mallas in Kuśinagara. The citizens, when they heard of the arrival of the dying saint, met him sorrowfully, and among the last acts of Buddha was that he appointed the Malla Subhadra as an Arhat. This connection of Buddha with the Mallas appears strange and

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[20] See Lieut.-Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan;* London, 1829, vol. I, p. 680: The *Mair* or *Mēra* is the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he inhabits is styled *Mairwarra*, or "the region of hills."

strengthens the doubt whether Buddha was an Aryan at all. His name of Śākyamuni and his relationship with the Śākya race has been taken as a reason to associate his name with the Scythian tribes, who had for some time previously been invading north-western India. However this may be, Buddha's friendship with the Mallas supports his non-Aryan origin. The enmity which existed between the kings of Kōśala and the Śākya princes is of itself significant, leaving altogether out of consideration the question whether Buddha was a prince or not. Moreover the inimical position which Buddhism soon assumed towards Brahmanism, the great hold the former took on the non-Brahmanical population, which rushed to be received into its fold, makes the conjecture of Buddha's non-Aryan origin rather probable.

Another branch of the Mallas came into collision with Alexander the Great, while he was progressing towards the South along the valley of the Indus. In the fight which ensued during his attack on their city he was, as is well known, severely wounded. This happened not far from the present Multan, which word I assume to denote Mallasthāna, the place of the Mallas, not Mūlasthāna, as has been assumed hitherto. In fact Sir Alexander Burnes states in his *Travels into Bokhara* (vol. III, p. 114) that "Mooltan is styled 'Malli than,' or 'Mali tharun' the place of the Malli, to this day."

Malayakētu, the son of the mountain king Pārvataka, who figures in the drama Mudrārākṣasa, represents the northern branch of the Mallas, settled in Malayabhūmi, near the Himālaya while the Pāṇḍya kings Malayadhvaja, Malayanarapati, Malayaprabha, Malayasiṁha and others are representatives of the south.

Even to this day the name of the Mallas is preserved among the population all over India, for the Mālas (Māls),

Mala Arayar or Malai Araśar, Malacar,[21] Malayālis, Mālavas (Mālvas), Mālair (Māler or Pahārias), Mallar, Mārs (Māras, Mhārs, Mahārs, Mahāras), Maris, Maravar, &c., as they are named in different places, are found scattered all over the country.

The word Malla also shows in its various meanings all the vicissitudes to which individuals and nations are alike exposed. When the bearers of the name were prosperous in the enjoyment of wealth and power, kings were proud to combine the term *Malla* with their own appellation in order to add further splendour to themselves, so that the word *Mallaka* assumed also the meaning of royal, as in the Mṛcchakaṭika;[22] yet when the wheel of fortune turned and the star of the Mallas had sunk beneath the horizon, the former term of honour became degraded into a byname of opprobrium and was applied to the lowest population, so that Mālavāḍu is in modern Telugu the equivalent of Pariah.

Still the recollection of former splendour is not forgotten and is cherished among the Pariahs or Mālas. The Pariahs or Mahārs of the Marātha country claim thus to have once been the rulers of Mahārāṣtra. And this is not improbable, for not only are the Mahārs found all over the country, but philological evidence is also in their favour. An old tradition divides the Drāviḍa and Gauḍa Brahmans into

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[21] See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp. 433, 434 (364), note 1: "Die *Malasir* (*Malliars*, *Journal of the R.A.S.*, II, 336) im Waldgebirge Malabars, haben keine Brahmanen oder Guru, verehren als ihren Gott Mallung einen Stein. Auch die Pariar Malabar's haben in ihren Tempeln nur Steine." "Each village (of the Mala Arayar) has its priest, who, when required, calls on the Hill (*Mala*), which means the demon resident there;" see *Native Life in Travancore*, by the Rev. S. Mateer, p. 77. See note 28.

[22] Compare such names as Yuddhamalla, Jagadēkamalla, Trailōkamalla, Ahavamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c. See about the *Malla Era*, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, p. 203 ff, and about *Mallaka*, Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. I, p. 134.

five classes. The Ślōkas which contain this statement are as follows :—

Mahārāṣṭrāndhradrāviḍāḥ karṇāṭāścaiva gurjarāḥ
Drāviḍāḥ pañcadhā prōktā Vindhyadakṣinavāsinaḥ.
Sārasvatāḥ kānyakubjā gauḍōtkalāścа maithilāḥ
Gauḍāḥ pañcavidhā prōktā Vindhyāduttaravāsinaḥ.

Except the term *Mahārāṣṭra*, all the other names refer to Indian tribes. It may be presumed therefore that this is true likewise in the case of Mahārāṣṭra, and that this name should not be explained by "Great Kingdom." Mahārāṣṭra was also called Mallarāṣṭra, the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as the Māras, who are better known as Mārs or Mhārs. Mhār was eventually transformed into Mahār; in fact both forms exist in modern Marāthi. Two terms identical in meaning *Mallarāṣṭra* and *Mahārāṣṭra* were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion, and with the waning fortunes of the Mahārs, their connection with the name was soon forgotten and Mahārāṣṭra was explained as meaning the "Great Kingdom" instead of the Kingdom of the Mahārs or Mallas. It is indeed curious that the word Pariah has still in Marāthi, the meaning of Mahāra, for the term *Paravārī* corresponds to Pariah, and is used in Marāthi in a general way as a courteous or conciliatory term for a Mahār.[2 3]

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[23] There exist other Ślōkas about this division. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* contains the abovementioned Ślōkas also in the following form :—

Karṇāṭāścaiva Drāviḍā Gurjarā Rāṣṭravāsinaḥ
Āndhrāśca Drāviḍaḥ pañca Vindhyadakṣiṇavāsinaḥ.
Sārasvatāḥ Kānyakubjā Gauḍa-Maithilakōtkalāḥ
Pañca Gauḍā iti khyātā Vindhasyōttaravāsinaḥ.

According to Dr. John Wilson : "Maharatta is the Pali form of Mahārāshṭra, which with the variant reading Mallarāshṭra appears in several of the Purāṇas. . Now, *Mahārāshṭra* may mean 'the country of the *Mahārs*,' a tribe still known in the province, though in a degraded position, and still so numerous throughout the Maraṭha country that there runs the proverb, *Jenye*

The proper names of *Mallayya* and *Malladu*, common among the Śūdra and Pariah population of Southern India, are occasionally like *Kuppayya* and *Vēmbayya* [24] given among Brahmans and other high-caste people to a boy, when the parents have previously lost two or more children. By this act of humility, displayed in giving a low name to their child, they hope to propitiate the deity and obtain for their offspring the health of a poor man's child. With that object they even throw the infant into a dunghill or *kuppa* (Tamil *kuppai*); a practice which has given rise to the name of Kuppayya.

Step by step the Dravidians receded from Northern India, though they never left it altogether. The Brahmanical supremacy deprived them of their independence, yet not all submitted to Aryan customs and manners. Scattered remains of the Mallas exist, as we have seen, to this day in North-India.

The immense chain of the Vindhya mountains acted as a protecting barrier, otherwise the Dravidians in the south,

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gānva tenye Mahāra vāḍā. 'Wherever there is a village there is the Mahār ward.' The Mahārs are mentioned by the cognomen which they still bear that of Parwārī (Παρουαροι) by Ptolemy, in the second century of the Christian era; and in his days they were evidently a people of distinct geographical recognition." See Dr. John Wilson's *Notes on the Constituent Elements.. of the Marāṭhī Language*, p. xxiii in the second edition of the *Dictionary Marāṭhi and English*, compiled by J. T. Molesworth, Bombay, 1857.—Consult too Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, p. 48: "The Mahārs, who form one of its (Mahārāshṭra's) old degraded tribes, and are everywhere found in the province say, that Mahārāshṭra means the country of the Mahārs." Compare *Notes on Castes in the Dekhan*, by W. F. [illegible] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (1874), p. 130. See also Col. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 264: "We have a tribe called Mal or Mar, scattered [illegible] Sirgūja, Palāmau, Belounja, &c."

In the *Vishṇupurāṇa* of H. H. Wilson, edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. II, p. 165, Mallarāṣṭra is called *Vallirāṣṭra*, and it is conjectured that *Mallarāṣṭra* may be identical with the Mahārāṣṭra (the Mahratta country) of the Purāṇas.

[24] *Vēmbayya* is called after *Vēmbu*, the Margōsa tree, the representative of bitterness. Death should regard in consequence the child as too bitter and too worthless to carry it off.

unlike their brothers in the north, would not have remained so unmolested. In fact the Vindhya mountains were by degrees recognized as constituting the natural frontier between the Aryanised nations of the north and the Dravidians of the south.

Aryan colonisation progressed slowly in the south. The first missionaries appear to have been only visitors and sojourners not permanent settlers in the country, whence they retraced their steps homewards.

The holy Agastya, according to one tradition[25] a grandson of Brahma, a son of Pulastya, a brother of Viśravas and an uncle of the Rākṣasa king, Rāvaṇa, is said to have remained in the South. Many miraculous deeds are ascribed to this diminutive sage. He is said to have been instrumental in the destruction of the powerful Nahuṣa, to have consumed and digested the Rākṣasa Vātāpi, to have drunk the waters of the ocean, and to have forced the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. This last feat was intended to symbolize the fact that he having settled down for good in Drāviḍa, became the originator of Brahmanical colonisation. For he exacted from the insurmountable Vindhya, who was lying at his feet, the promise not to rise again until he had returned and recrossed, and as Agastya did not come back, the Vindhya could not lift its head again, and since then the mountain became passable for future immi-

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[25] According to another tradition he was born together with *Vasiṣṭha* in a jar (therefore called *Kumbhasambhava*, *Kumbhayōni* and *Ghaṭōdbhava*) son of Mitra and Varuṇa (therefore *Maitrāvāruṇi*) and of the Apsaras Urvaśī. In the Svāyambhuva Manvantara the name of Agastya, as the son of Pulastya and Prīti, is *Dattōli*. According to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa Agastya was the son of Pulastya and of Havirbhū and was called in a previous birth *Dahrāgni* or *Jaṭharagni*. (See *Vishṇupur.*, vol. I, p. 154.) He is also called *Pitābdhi* as Ocean-drinker and *Vātāpidviṣ*, as destroyer of Vātāpi. His abode is fixed on the mountain Kuñjara. Many hymns of the Ṛgvēda are ascribed to him. Lassen (vol. II, p. 23) has pointed out the incongruity of the reports respecting the time when he lived, as he is mentioned both as a contemporary of Anantaguṇa and of Kīrtipūṣaṇa Pāṇḍya.

grants. Agastya's residence is said to have been the mountain Malayam or Potiyam, not far distant from Cape Comorin ; in the firmament he shines as the star Canopus. To him is ascribed the civilisation of South-India, in fact the most famous ancient Tamil works in nearly every branch of science, such as divinity, astronomy, grammar, and medicine are attributed to him. In consequence he is specially called the Tamil sage (தமிழ் முனி).

Explanation of the terms Dravida, Tamil and Aravam.

Sanskrit is called in South-India the northern language or *vaṭa moḻi*, வட மொழி, while the Dravidian goes by the name of the southern language, or *ten moḻi* தென் மொழி. Previous researches have established the fact that the words Draviḍa and Tamil are identical in meaning, that both resemble each other in form, and that Tamil seems to be a derivative from Draviḍa. Yet the origin of the word Draviḍa has hitherto not been explained. Though Draviḍa is generally restricted to denote Tamiḻ : *Draviḍa, Dramiḍa* or *Dramila* is also applied to denote ancient Malayālam ; in fact it is properly speaking applicable to all the Dravidian languages. The word Dramila occurs also in Sanskrit literature. I derive Dramila from *Tirumala* and explain it to signify the *sacred Mala* language, as Sanskrit is *κατ' ἐξοχήν* the refined Aryan language.

It is immaterial to us whether *Tiru* is an original Dravidian word, or a derivation from the Sanskrit *Śrī*, prosperity. Some of the best Tamil scholars of the past as well as of the present day have declared in favour of *tiru* being a pure Dravidian word, and this has all along been my opinion also. *Tiru* was probably in course of time changed to *tira* or *tara*, then contracted to *tra* or *dra*, and finally to *ta* (*da*), both letters *t* and *d* being identical. The Vēda is called in Tamil *Tiruvāy*, the sacred word, and its Tamil adaptation specially

used by Vaiṣṇavas is the well-known *Tiruvāy Moḷi*. Tiruvāy was eventually changed to *Taravāy*, which is now generally used in the sense of *Vēda-reading*. The word *Ōttu* does thus in Malayālam signify Vēda and Vēda-reading. The *tiru* of *Tiruvaḷḷaṅkōḍu* has been similarly changed to *tra* in Travancore, both alterations—Draviḍa and Travancore—being no doubt due to the same Aryan influence. From Dramala to Dramila, Damila and Tamil is a short step, unless *Tamil* is directly derived from Tirumala. Dramila, Dramiḍa and Draviḍa are Aryan corruptions of Tirumala and found re-admission into the South-Indian languages as foreign expressions, whose signification was forgotten and defied explanation. I recognize the name Tirumala also in the Tāmala or Dāmala of *Dāmalavarubhayam* near *Pāṇḍamaṅgalam* in the Trichinopoly district. Pāṇḍamaṅgalam is regarded as the old capital of the former kings, among whom the name *Tirumala* did not unfrequently occur. *Ubhayam* (உபயம்) is anything offered or devoted to religious purposes, and *Dāmalavarubhayam* denotes therefore the offering of the Tirumala people, *var* being used as the affix of the Tamil pronoun of the third person plural. *Tirumalarāja* is in colloquial Telugu often called *Tiramalarāyalu*, as *Tirupati* becomes Tirapati. Like *Dāmalavarubhayam* might be mentioned *Dāmalaceruvu* in North-Arcot, *Dāmal* in Chingleput, *Damalapādi* in Tanjore and others. I have been informed on good authority that the last place is to this day also known as Tirumalapādi. Yet, my derivation of Tirumala does not require the support of the etymology of these names.

Another but rarer form of Dramila is *Drimila*, which is derived from *Tirumila*, as Tripati from *Tirupati*, Trikōvil for *Tirukōvil*, or Trikāl for *Tirukāl*. The fact of the term *Tamil* being the ultimate derivative from Tirumala (Tramala) and denoting a special Dravidian dialect will perhaps serve in future researches as an historical clue for fixing the period when the various vernaculars of Southern India became sepa-

rate and distinct languages. If the *Limyrikē* (*Λιμυρική*) of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 8 and 85) is the *Dimirica* repeatedly mentioned in the Cosmography of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, as Bishop Caldwell has clearly pointed out by identifying it with Damirice or the Tamil country (see p. 14 of the Introduction to the second edition of the *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*), the work of Ptolemy contains the earliest mention of the word *Tamil*.

All these permutations prove the continual interchange of *m* with the other labial consonants, and of *l* into the *d* and *r* sounds.[26]

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[26] With respect to the above-mentioned conjectures a few observations are perhaps necessary.

The change of *a* into *i* and *vice versâ* is not rare, as in *mala* and *mila*, *Damirica* and *Dimirica*, *tiṟa*, open, and *taṟa*, &c., &c. *Tiruvāy* and its slang alteration into *Taravāy* are both Tamil words, though the latter common form has been introduced into Telugu by Telugu Brahmans—especially by Vaiṣṇava Telugu Brahmans—who live in the Tamil country, and has thus found its way even into modern Telugu dictionaries. The term *Taravay* for Vēdādhyāyana or Vēdōpakrama is neither found in Kanarese and Malayālam, nor in pure Telugu. The most important lesson which Brahman boys have to learn at and after their *Upanayanam* or investiture with the holy thread are Vēda mantras. Children generally alter words so as to suit their pronunciation, and Tamil boys most probably invented *Taravāy* for *Tiruvāy* as they say *taṟa*, open, instead of *tiṟa*. This corrupted form found eventually access into common Tamil, for up to this moment Taravāy is only considered a slang term. The origin of the word once forgotten, *tara* of *taravāy*, was connected with the word *taram* in the meaning of *time* (once, twice, &c.), and as every lesson in order to be known must be repeated, so also the reciting of the Vēda after so many times or *taram*. It seems to be overlooked by those, who prefer this explanation, that the term *Taravāy* is only applied to the repetition of the Vēda and not to any other repetition, that if *tara* had been taken in the sense of "*time*," it ought to be at the end of the word, and that the syllable *vāy* gives no sense in *taravāy* unless it is accepted as meaning *Vēda* or holy word. *Taravāy*, *taruvāy*, in *taravāta* and *taruvāta*, occur in Telugu in the meaning of *afterwards*, as do in Kanarese *taravāya* and *taruvāya*; but these words have nothing in common with the above-mentioned Tamil *Taravāy*. The elision of an *r* is also not unfrequent, as *trāguṭa*, to drink, in Telugu becomes generally *tāguṭa*. Already Bishop Caldwell was struck with the strange formation of the word Dravida, for he says: "The compound *dr* is quite un-Dravidian. It would be *tira* in Tamil; but even if we suppose some such word as Tiraviḍa or Tiramiḍa to have been converted into Dravida by the Sanskrit-speaking people, we get no nearer to

The Telugu, Kanarese and other cognate northern races, when they had forgotten their claim to the name of Dravidians, called the Tamil language *Aravam*. This word *Áravam* is most likely a corruption of Draviḍam. Draviḍam or Dramilam became in its turn Daramiḍam (Daramilam), Araviḍam (Aravilam), and finally Aravam.[27] However peculiar these changes may appear to the uninitiated, to the scientific philologist they can afford no special difficulty. Even in Sanskrit we occasionally observe an initial *d* dropped, *e.g.*, in *aśru*, tear, which is δάκρυ in Greek, *thräne* in German, and *lacrymia* in Latin; while the elision of

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an explanation of the original meaning of the word." See Introduction to *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 13.

The name *Tirumala* becomes in colloquial Telugu also *Tiramala*, *Tirmala* and *Timma*. This last word must be distinguished from *Timma* for *timmaḍu* or *timmanna*, monkey. Similarly does *tāmbūlamu*, betel, become tamalamu (or tammalamu) and *tāmma*; and *tāmara*, lotus, *tammi*.

In Tamil the verb *ōtu* (ஓது) means to recite the Vēda, while *ōttu* (ஓத்து) signifies the Vēda itself. Both words are Tadbhavams formed from the Sanskrit word *Vēda*.

[27] The Tamil form *Tiraviḍam* for *Draviḍam* appears to prove that the origin of the word *Draviḍa* had been forgotten, when it was re-introduced into Tamil. As the Telugu and Kanarese languages do not insert an *i* between two consonants in the same manner as Tamil does, the derivation of *Aravam* from *Dravidam* gains in probability. In Kanarese the Tamil people are besides called *Tigaḷar*, which I am inclined to consider also as a corruption for Trimala. The *r* in the first syllable was dropped, and the labial in the second has been changed into a guttural *g*, as is not unfrequent; compare, *e.g.*, Kuḍaman and Kuḍavan with Kuḍagan. *Tigala* and *Arava* have in this case the same meaning. I am aware that the Rev. Mr. Kittel, whose opinion carries much weight, has declared that the original form of *Tigaḷar* (*Tiguḷar*) was *Tiguṟar*.

The derivations of *Aravam* hitherto proposed appear to me to be inappropriate. Dr. Gundert thought it could be connected with *aṟam*, virtue, and *aṟavan* would have the meaning of a moralist. Others preferred the Tamil word *aṟivu*, knowledge, and *aṟivan* or *aṟavan* represented thus the Tamulian as the intelligent person of the South, others derived it from an obscure Tamil district *Aruvā*. The defect of these etymologies is the fact that the Tamil people ignore the word *aravam*, so far as their name is concerned. The Telugu pandits are in favor of *arava* meaning *a-rava*, without sound, for the Tamil language does not possess aspirates, or is according to others rather rough; while some Kanarese pandits proposed as its root the Kanarese word *aravu*, half, or deficient, as the ancient Kanarese people are said to have

medial consonants is not at all unusual in the Indian vernaculars, *Bēstāramu*, Thursday, in Telugu, *e.g.*, for Bṛhaspativāra, *jannidamu* for yajñōpavīta, *ānati* for ājñapti.

The importance I attach to the derivation of Dravidian from Tirumala in the specified sense can be duly appreciated only when one considers that it establishes at once the prominent position the Malas (Mallas) or Dravidians occupied in the whole of India. It may perhaps be interesting to quote from the eloquent preface of Hodgson on the Kocch, Bōdo, and Dhimāl Tribes the following sentences, in which the term Tamulian is employed as equivalent to Dravidian. "The "Tamulian race, confined to India and never distinguished "by mental culture, offers, it must be confessed, a far less "gorgeous subject for inquiry than the Arian. But, as the "moral and physical condition of many of these scattered "members of the Tamulian body is still nearly as little "known as is the assumed pristine entirety and unity "of that body, it is clear that this subject had two parts, "each of which may be easily shown to be of high "interest, not merely to the philosopher but to the states-"man. The Tamulians are now, for the most part, British "subjects: they are counted by millions, extending from "the snows to the Cape (Comorin); and, lastly, they are as "much superior to the Arian Hindus in freedom from dis-"qualifying prejudices as they are inferior to them in know-"ledge and all its train of appliances. Let then the student "of the progress of society, of the fate and fortunes of the "human race, instead of poring over a mere sketch of the past,

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regarded Tamil to be a deficient language. Bishop Caldwell has treated at some length on this subject in his Introduction, pp. 18–20.

The initial consonant is often dropped in Dravidian languages, *e.g.*, in Tamil *Avai*, assembly, for *cavai; alliyam*, village of herdsmen, for *valliyam; aḷai*, rat hole, for *vaḷai* and *paḷai; amar*, war, from Sanskrit *samara; alam*, plough, from Sanskrit *hala; ita*, agreeable, from Sanskrit *hita;* in Telugu *esa*, haste, for *vesa; ella*, white, for *vella; ēyuṭa*, to throw, for *vēyuṭa; ēnu*, I, for *nēnu; īvu*, thou, for *nīvu; ēmu*, we, for *mēmu*, &c., &c.

"address himself to the task of preparing full and faithful "portraits of what is before his eyes; and let the statesman "profit by the labours of the student; for these primitive races "are the ancient inheritors of the whole soil, from all the rich "and open parts of which they were wrongfully expelled."

As points of minor interest I may as well here mention that the words Tirumāl and Perumāl are also derived from Mala (Malla). Both terms were originally the titles given by the Mallas to their great chiefs and kings. Each Perumāl was at first elected to rule for a period of twelve years, and was chosen from outside the country to govern Malanāḍu or Malayāḷam. As it often happens elsewhere with royal names, these were in later times applied as honorific appellations to the specially revered god, in this instance to Viṣṇu. The terms *sacred Mala* or the *Great Mala* being once connected with the deity, lost their original meaning, which was in course of time entirely forgotten. This circumstance explains their peculiar derivations so often found in Tamil dictionaries, and the strange attempts of grammarians to explain their startling formations. The name of Perumāl, the great Mala, is still a royal title in Malabar.[28]

CHAPTER IV.

The Pariah (Pārata, Pahāria), Brahui, Bār (Bhār), Mār (Mhār), &c.

Before I turn to the Mallas known as Pallas, I shall, after a few remarks, discuss the position of the Pariahs

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[28] The *māl* in Tirumāl is generally derived from *māl*, illusion, while the same *māl* in Perumāl is explained as a change for *mān* in the synonymous *Perumān*. The word Tirumāl supplies the best evidence of the radical nature of the *l* in Perumāl.

The indigenous title of the South-Indian Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya king was *Perumāl*. *Mallan* was the name of a Perumāl who built Mallūr in

and kindred races. The *Pallar* are described in Dr. Winslow's Tamil and English Dictionary as "a low dependent caste employed in husbandry, &c., under their feudal lords, a peasant tribe dwelling in the south, supposed to be a change of Mallar, மள்ளர்." Though the Pallar, like the Pallis and other tribes regard themselves as the descendants of the Pallavas once so powerful, they themselves neither produce nor possess sufficiently reliable historical evidence in support of their claims, which nevertheless may be perfectly well-founded. I have often but in vain tried to obtain some authentic information from the various castes in corroboration of their assertions, but I have only received vague and unreliable statements.

Derivation of the word Pariah.

If the term *Pariah* is considered to signify every outcaste from every caste, then the Pariahs, as such, do not come within the scope of this discussion; for though the greater part of them belong no doubt to the original or rather aboriginal Dravidian population, from which they have in later times been severed by hereditary social rules, and though they in their turn acknowledge among themselves caste distinctions, yet as every outcaste becomes to a certain extent a Pariah, the term Pariah does not represent now a strictly ethnological sub-division.

On the other hand it must be admitted that irrespective of this foreign element which has been added to the Pariah community, the Pariahs represent a distinctly separate class of the population, and as such we have to deal with them here. The general name by which the Marāṭha Pariahs is known is *Paravārī*.

Pōlanāḍu. *Mallan* is also called a rural deity which is set up on the border or on the ridges of rice-fields. Compare Dr. Gundert's *Malayālam Dictionary*, p. 801, and note 21 on p. 21.

That their name, in spite of its usual derivation from *paṟa* or *paṟai*, drum, should rather be connected with the name of the original Dravidian population, seems to me to admit of no question. The supposition that the Pariahs are the drummer-caste and have obtained their name from that instrument appears to rest on a weak foundation. It is most probably an afterthought, the more easily explicable since the lower classes delighted in the noise of the drum, and the name of the drum-beating class was transferred to the instrument by which the Pariah made his presence known. The lute of the Caṇḍāla (the *caṇḍāla-vallakī*, *caṇḍālikā*, *cāṇḍālikā*, *kaṇḍōlī* or *kaṇḍōla-vīṇā*) is similarly named after the Caṇḍāla, and not the Caṇḍāla after the lute. Moreover, the word *paṟa* or *paṟai* is, except in Malayālam and Tamil, not found in the other Dravidian languages in the sense of drum and at the same time as the name of the Pariahs; for the Pariah is called *Holeya* in Kanarese in spite of *paṟe* signifying a drum, and in Telugu he is known as *Mālavāḍu*, which word originally signifies *mountaineer* (see pp. 21 and 56). If the Pariahs were really the caste of drummers, they would most probably be called so, wherever they are found in India.

I regard the Pariah as the representative of the ancient Dravidian population, and as having been condemned to supply his name to the lowest layers of the population, as the ancient Śūdras after their subjugation gave their name to the Śūdra caste. It will be subsequently shown that the *Caṇḍālas* are among the Gauḍians, what the *Pariahs* are among the Dravidians. This connection is even indicated by the name of the Caṇḍālas, which resembles those of the Kandaloi, Khands and Gonds.

I think that the word *Pariah*, the *Paravārī* of the Marātha country, is intimately connected with the names of the Pāratas, Pāradas, Paravar, Pardhis, Parheyas, Pahārias or Māler, Bārs (Bhārs), Brahuis, Mārs (Mhārs), &c., &c., and that it designated originally a *mountaineer*, from the Dravidian root

paṟa, preserved in the Malayālam *paṟa*, in the Tamil *pār* and *pāṟai*, and the Telugu *pāru*. The formation of the word *Pahāria* corresponds probably with that of *Mahāra*, and as Mahāra or Mahār is derived from Mhār and Mār, as *Bahar* is from Bhār and Bār, so may also *Pahār* be regarded as a derivative from Phār and Pār.[29]

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[29] Bishop Caldwell remarks on p. 549 on this subject: "It has been said "that the name Pareiya, or Pariah, is synonymous with that of the Paharias "(from *pāhār*, a hill), a race of mountaineers, properly called Mâlers, "inhabiting the Rājmahal Hills, in Bengal; and hence it is argued that the "Pareiyas may be considered, like the Paharias, as a race of non-Aryan, non-"Dravidian aborigines. It is an error, however, to suppose that there is "any connection between those two names. The word Pariah, properly "Paṟeiya, denotes not a mountaineer, but a drummer, a word regularly "derived from *paṟei*, a drum, especially the great drum used at funerals. "The name Pareiya is, in fact, the name of a hereditary occupation, the "Pareiyas being the class of people who are generally employed at festivals, "and especially at funerals, as drummers."

The improbability of this derivation, though advocated by such a great authority as the highly esteemed and learned Bishop, has been pointed out by me. Moreover, it may be remarked that Pariah drummers are not employed at the festivals of Brahmans.

As the name of the Pariah is thus by high authorities derived from *paṟai*, drum, it is here perhaps not out of place to mention some of the various kinds of drums used by the natives of Southern India. The drums vary as to their size, construction, the material they are made of, and the manner in which they are carried. A *Ḍamāra* (Sanskrit *Ḍamaru*) is carried by a bull, a *Ḍhaṅka* (Sanskrit *Ḍhakkā*) on a horse, a *Nagārā* (of Semitic origin, in Arabic, *e.g.*, نقارة; Tamil *Nakarā*) by an elephant or camel, and a *Bhēri* (Sanskrit *Bhēri* (ī)) on a cart. Other kinds of drums are carried by men, as the *Tappaṭṭai*, a small drum, which hangs from the left shoulder and is beaten under the left arm from below with a stick in the right hand, and from above with a small stick in the left hand. The *Tāsā*, a small semi-globular shaped drum, is worn in front round the neck below the chest and beaten with two small sticks. The *Ḍōl* (Sanskrit *Ḍhōla*) is a big drum which is also carried over the neck, but is beaten only with one stick in the right hand and with the other hand. The *Paṟai*, which has the euphemistic name of *Alaṅkāram*, is not carried, when beaten, but lies on the ground between the feet of the drummer and is used at festivals, weddings, and funerals. It is beaten only by a particular class of Pariah the *Veṭṭiyān*, who burns corpses and digs graves. It is therefore neither beaten by all Pariahs nor used in common life. The *Tappaṭṭai* and *Tāsā* are in fashion among the Pariahs and other low classes, though Muhammedans and Śūdras practise on them occasionally. The beaters of the other drums are mostly Śūdras. The *Kōtas* and the *Todas* on the Nilagiri also have the *Tappaṭṭai* and Tasa. The term *paṟai* is in Tamil now used as the general term for drum. I believe that most of the

The Brahuis.

On the northern frontier of India near the Bolan Pass not far from the seats of the ancient Bhalānas, who are mentioned by the bards of the Ṛg-vēda, begins the long chain of the *Brahui* mountains. This mountain range extends continuously from the vicinity of the Bolan pass to Cape Monze on the Persian Gulf, and is to this day the home of the Dravidian Brahuis, who must be regarded as the western borderers of Dravidian India. The origin

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above-mentioned names of the drums are merely imitations of the sounds these instruments make. H. H. Wilson introduced by mistake the "*Palaya* or *Paraya*" in his translation of the second edict of Aśōka. The *Mālalu* or Telugu Pariahs are also called *Mannepuvāṇḍlu* or Highlanders; see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. VIII, p. 218.

Compare Fr. Buchanan's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, edited by Montgomery Martin, vol. II, pp. 122, 123: "The mountain tribes are, I believe, the descendants of the original inhabitants of the country, very little, if at all, mixed with foreign colonies. Their features and complexion resemble those of all the rude tribes, that I have seen on the hills from the Ganges to Malabar, that is on the Vindhya mountains. Their noses are seldom arched and are rather thick at the points.. Their faces are oval..Their lips are full..Their eyes..are exactly like those of Europeans." See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp. 454-458 (1st ed., pp. 380-384): "Die Pahária nennen sich selbst Maler oder Bergbewohner,..sie haben dieselben Züge und die Hautfarbe, wie alle die rohen Stämme vom Ganges nach Malabar . . es soll die Sprache der Pahária reich an Worten sein, die dem Tamil and Telinga zugleich angehören." On p. 1028 Lassen remarks in note 5: "Est is zu bemerken, dass *Pārada* zwar auch Bergbewohner bedeutet haben wird."—I believe that the *Paṛjas* of Jeypore should be included among these people, though Mr. D. F. Carmichael prefers to regard this name as a corruption by metathesis from the Sanskrit word *Prajas*, subjects. See *Manual of the District of Vizagapatam*, p. 87; Madras Census Report of 1871, vol. I, pp. 223-225.—One of the *Koli* tribes on the Mahi Kanta hills is called *Pariah*. Two Rājput tribes of Mallāni are known by the name of *Paria* and *Pariāria*.

The fishermen in Tinnevelly are called *Paravar* (or *Paratar* and *Paratavar*). According to Mr. Simon Casie Chetty in his "Remarks on the Origin and History of the Parawas" in vol. IV of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 130-134: "It is the general belief among the Parawas that their "original country was Ayudhya, or Oude; and it appears that previously to "the war of the Mahábharat, they inhabited the territory bordering on "the river Yamuna, or Jumna... In that section of the Mahábharat entitled "*Adipurva*, it is said, that the king of the Parawas who resided on the banks "of the Jumna, having found an infant girl in the belly of a fish adopted "her as his own daughter, giving her the name of *Machchakindi*, and that

of the names of the Baluches [30] and of the Brahuis is unknown, but I believe that they are in some way related to, if not indeed identical with, each other. I recognise in the name of the Pāratas [31] and Pāradas who dwelt in North-eastern Baluchistan,—which country coincides with the Paradēnē of Ptolemy,[32]—the origin of the modern word Brahui. Both the Sanskrit as well as the Dravidian languages possess the two liquids *r* and *l*, yet the former letter seems to have

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"when she grew up, she was employed (as was customary with the females "of the Parawa tribe) to ferry passengers over the river. On a certain day, "the sage *Pārāsara* having chanced to meet her at the ferry, she became "with child by him, and was subsequently delivered of a son, the famous "Vyasa, who composed the Purānas. Her great personal charms afterwards "induced king *Santanu*, of the lunar race, to admit her to his royal bed, and "by him she became the mother of *Vachitravirya*, the grandsire of the "*Pāndavas* and *Kauravas*.. Hence the Parawas boast of being allied to the "lunar race, and call themselves accordingly, besides displaying at their "wedding feasts the banners and emblems peculiar to it."

This is the story of *Satyavatī* (*Matsyagandhī*), the mother of Vyāsa by Parāśara, and of Vicitravīrya and Citrāṅgada by Śāntanu, which is told in the *Ādiparva* in the 63rd and 100th chapters and elsewhere, as also in the Harivaṁśa, XVIII, 38-45. Compare also J. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 60-62.

It is peculiar that the *Palleväṇḍlu* in the Telugu country who correspond to the Pallis in the South are mostly fishermen, though the same term *palleväṇḍlu* applies also to *villagers*. In North India a class of fishermen is called *Malla*. The name denotes the tribe and not the occupation.

[30] The modern Baluches say that they came from Aleppo in Syria. Little is known about the origin of their name. It resembles that of the Ballas and Bhalānas, though it is unsafe to make any conjecture in this respect.

[31] See Bṛhatsaṁhitā, x, 5, 7; xiii, 9; xiv, 21, &c. Varāhamihira mentions the Pāratas together with the Rāmaṭas, and with other nations on the northern frontier of India, *e.g.*, Śaka-Yavana-Darada-Pārata-Kāmbōjāḥ. The Pāradas occur in Manu (x. 44), in the Rāmāyaṇa, and repeatedly in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa and Viṣṇupurāṇa.

It has been also proposed to explain *Pārada* as meaning a people living across the river, in this case beyond the Indus. Such a name could hardly have been assumed by the *Pāradas* themselves, especially if they had never crossed the Indus.

[32] When describing Gedrosia Ptolemy VI, 21, 4, says: Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τῆς χώρας κατέχουσιν Ἰχθυτῶν κῶμαι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Καρμανίαν Παρσίδαι(ἢ Παρσίραι), τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Ἀραχωσίαν Μουσαρναῖοι, ἡ δὲ μέση τῆς χώρας πᾶσα καλεῖται Παραδηνή, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Παρισιηνή, μεθ' ἣν τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ κατέχουσι Ῥάμναι. Besides *Puradēnē* may be mentioned as connected by

been preferred in more ancient times, as is seen, in the Vedic words *aram*, enough, and *rarāṭa*, forehead, instead of the later *alam* and *lalāṭa*. The same peculiarity has been observed in ancient Iranian, and no valid objection can be raised against connecting the word *Parthva* of the cuneiform inscriptions (the classical *Parthiva*) with Pahlav. The Parthians were Scythians or Turanians and so were the Pallas (Mallas) of India and their neighbours on the northern frontier of India.

The power of the Parthians becoming supreme in Persia, the name became identified with Persia, and after the disappearance of the Parthian or Pahlavi kings the words *Pahlavi* assumed in course of time the meaning of *ancient Persian* and even of *ancient*. It is a curious coincidence that in the Dravidian languages also a word resembling *Palla* in form means *old*, in Tamil and Malayālam *paḻa*, in Kanarese *paḻe* or *haḻe*, in Tulu *para*, etc. Under these circumstances I regard the *Bra* in Brahui as a contraction of *Bara*, and obtain thus in *Barahui* a name whose resemblance to that of the ancient *Barrhai* the modern Bhārs, as well as to that of

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similarity of name and vicinity of geographical position the districts *Parsia*, *Parsiana* and *Parsiene*, the tribes of the *Parnoi* (Arsaces and Tiradates are said to have been Parnians), *Parūtai*, *Parsidai* or *Parsirai* and *Parsyētai* and the mountain range of the *Paropamisos*.

According to the command of the king Sagara, the *Yavanas* shaved their heads entirely, the *Śakas* shaved the upper half of their heads, the *Pāradas* wore their hair long, and the *Pahlavas* let their beards grow. (See Harivaṁśa, XIV. 15–17).

Sagaraḥ svām pratijñām ca gurōr vākyam niśamya ca
dharmam jaghāna tēṣām vai vēśānyatvam cakāra ha. 15
Arddham Śakānām śirasō muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat
Yavanānām śiraḥ sarvam Kāmbōjānām tathaiva ca, 16
Pāradā muktakēśāścā Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ
nissvādhāya vaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtāḥ tēna mahātmanā. 17

Compare also *Vishṇu Purāṇa* of H. H. Wilson, edited by F. Hall, vol. III, p. 294.

Bishop Caldwell mentions that the practice of wearing long hair is characteristic of the Dravidians. (See *Dravidian Grammar*, 2nd edit., Introduction, p. 114.) Beards are also worn by many Dravidian races.

the Pāratas and Paravar, and their kindred the Marātha *Parāvārī* and Dravidian Parheyas of Pālamau is striking. It is also not impossible that the country Paraśa, which corresponds to Northern Baluchistan and not to Persia, and is mentioned in Hiven-Tsiang's travels, contains the same name. The interchange of *r* and *l* is equally apparent in the name of the Māras or Mālas of Pālamau, who derive their origin from Mālva. The connecting link between the Brahuis and the ancient Dravidians through the Bhārs, Parheyas, Mārs and Mālas, &c., seems to be thus established.[33]

The Bārs or Bhārs.

After the Brahuis the aboriginal Indian race of the Bārs or Bhārs claims our attention. The earliest mention of them is found in Ptolemy VII, 2, 20, where they are called

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[33] The late Dr. Trumpp was fully persuaded of the Dravidian character of the Brahui language. With respect to the explanation of the name most authorities seem to admit that the first syllable *Bra* is originally dissyllabic. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* contains in vol. XIX, pp. 59–135 "An Essay on the Brāhūi Grammar" after the German of the late Dr. Trumpp, of Munich University, by Dr. Theodore Duka, M.R.A.S., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Army. On p. 64 we read: "The national name, "Bráhúi is pronounced in several ways. Nicolson and Maulawi Alla Bux "spell it Biruhi (that is Bíroohi or Birouhi), but we must not forget that "Birúhí (बिरुहीं) is a Sindhi word, and it is therefore difficult to say how "the people in question call themselves. In Nicolson's Reader the word "occurs twice written براهوی, which cannot be pronounced otherwise than "Bráhúi or Birāhúi, and this should, therefore, be adopted as the proper "pronunciation of the word."

This statement is not quite correct; it can as well be pronounced *Barahui*, for براہ, large, is pronounced *barā*, and برابر, abreast, *barābar*, &c.

According to Mr. C. Masson *Brahui* is a corruption of Ba-roh-i.

The word Brahui appears to indicate a *highlander*, for a tribe of the Baluchis is called *Nhārui*, not a hill man, *i.e.*, a dweller in the plain. The Nhāruis "may be considered to hold the same place with reference to the Brahuis that 'lowlanders' do to 'highlanders'." See *The Country of Balochistan*, by A. W. Hughes, p. 29.

My derivation appears thus to have a good foundation.

See Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Eastern India*, edited by M. Martin, vol. II, p. 126: "The northern tribe consider their southern neighbours as brethren, and call them Maler, the name which they give themselves; but the southern tribe, shocked at the impurity of the others, deny this consanguinity, and

Barrhai. They do not appear to be specially quoted in Sanskrit literature, unless the wild mountaineer tribe of the *Bharatas*, who occur in the dictionaries along with the *Śabaras*, is considered identical with them. Sir Henry M. Elliot thought that the Bhārs might perhaps be the Bharatas, whose descent is traced to Jayadhvaja. According to the Harivaṁśa the Bharatas are very numerous. The Bhārs pronounce their name very harshly, and it is by no means impossible that the well-known Aryan word barbarian, *Barbara* or *Varvara* in Sanskrit, owes to a certain extent its origin to them.[34] The Bhār tribe is also known as *Rājbhār*, *Bharat* and *Bhārpatva*.[35] There is some contention between the Bhār and the Rājbhār as to superiority, but this is a difficult point to decide; some regard the Rājbhārs as

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most usually call the northern tribe Chet, while they assume to themselves the denomination of Mal or Mar, which however is probably a word of the same derivation with Maler." Compare also note 23 on p. 22, and *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, by Colonel E. T. Dalton, p. 264: "We have a tribe called Mal or Mar..They declare, they came originally from Malwa. ..Malwa is the chief seat of the Bhil race, who are considered aborigines of that district. Malavas and Bhils may be identical, and our Pahārias and Bhils cognates."

[34] See Genl. Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 140: "We know at least that the Aryans ridiculed the aborigines on account of their *burr*, and gave them the nick name of *barbaras*, or barbarians, from which we may conclude that any words containing the burred *r* must be indigenous."

The word *barbar* is spelt in Hindustāni *baṛbaṛ*, बड़बड़. Compare "Notes on the Bhars and other Early Inhabitants of Bundelkhand," by Vincent A. Smith in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* [1877], vol. XLVI, pp. 227–236, where in the first note on p. 227 we read: "The name is usually spelt 'Bhar,' but the spelling 'Bharr' would more accurately represent the pronunciation."

[35] See Sir Henry M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms*, vol. I, pp. 33 and 34: "Common tradition assigns to them the . . whole tract from Gorakhpūr to Bundelkhand and Saugor, and the large Pargannah of Bhadoí, in Benares (formerly Bhardaí) is called after their name. Many old stone forts, embankments, and subterraneous caverns in Gorakhpūr, Azimgarh, Jaunpūr, Mirzapūr, and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilization. The wild Bhils of Marwar are called Bhaunrís, but I know not whether there is any connexion between them and the Bhars. The Bhoyas and Bhuttias of Agorí and

descended from the old Bhār nobility, who themselves claim to have been formerly Kṣatriyas. They do not eat swine's flesh as the Bhārs do, and this abstention is regarded as an indication of greater respectability. All these races are now very much mixed. The Bhārs are often mentioned together with the Cherus.

We possess very little information about the ancient history of the Bhārs. Legend associates their name with the earliest Aryan heroes, *e.g.*, with *Rāma* and his sons, but the Bhārs suddenly disappear from the scene, and, so far as history is concerned, reappear just previously to the Mahommedan invasion of India, at which period they certainly possessed a vast territory, and were indeed the real owners of the soil.

In fact the Bhārs must have once ruled over a great area of country stretching from Oudh in the west to Behar in the east and Chota Nagpur, Bundelkund and Sagar in the south. Their name still survives in Bahar, Bahraich (Bharaich), Bāra, Baragaon, Bāra Banki, Barhapara and Barwan in Oudh, in Bareilly, Barhaj, Barhar (or Bharhar) in the North-Western Provinces, in Bar, Barabar, Baraghi and Barhiya in Behar, in Barva in Chota Nagpur, and in many other places.[36] *Bāra* in Oudh is said to have been founded

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Singraulī, who are generally classed as Ahīrs, may probably bear some relation to the Bhars, though no trace can now be had of their descent. The Cherūs also are sometimes said to be a branch of the Bhars. . . It is strange that no trace of Bhars is to be found in the Puranas, unless we may consider that there is an obscure indication of them in the 'Brahma Purana,' where it is said that among the descendants of Jayadhvaja are the Bharatas who, it is added, 'are not commonly specified *from their great number*,' or they may, perhaps, be the Bhargas, of the Mahabharata, subdued by Bhim Sen on his Eastern expedition. The Bhars consider themselves superior to Rājbhars, notwithstanding the prenomen of Rāj, but this claim to superiority is not conceded by the Rajbhars. They do not eat or drink with each other."

See *Harivaṁśa* XXXIII, 53 : Bharataśca sutā jātā bahutvānnānukīrttitāḥ.

[36] See *The Bhars of Audh and Banāras*, by Patrick Carnegy, Commissioner of Rāi Bareli, Oudh, printed in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. 45, p. 303 : "The parganas of Bhardoi, Bharosā, Bahrāich, and Bharolī and the

by a Bhār Rāja called Bāra, while the foundation of *Bāra Banki* is associated with Jas, another Bhār Rāja. The Liṅga on the top of the *Bārabār* hill near Gayā was according to local tradition placed there by a Bār Rāja, whose combats with Kṛṣṇa are even now remembered by the people.[37] This is most probably an allusion to the Asura *Bāṇa*, the son of Bali. The *Bārhapāra* pargana is still populated with aboriginal Bhārs. The pargana *Bhādohi* or *Bhārdohi* is called after them, and the name of the town of *Bharaich* is also derived from their name.[38]

Traces of the former supremacy of the Bhārs are found scattered all over the country. Most of the stone erections, fortifications, as well as the embankments, and the subterranean caves in Gorakhpur, Azimgarh, Janpur, Benares, Mirzapur, and Allahabad are ascribed to them. Such forts generally go now by the name of *Bhār-dīh*. The grand ruins known as those of Pampāpurā in the neighbourhood of the modern

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town of Bhartipur (near the Bhar capital, Kusbhawanpur *alias* Sulṭānpūr), are all believed to derive their names from the Bhars. . Sleeman also mentions a large district of nearly a thousand villages near Mahamdi, which even in his day was known as Bharwārā, now occupied by Ahban Rajpūts." Compare *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. 46, pp. 227 and 228 : "The former presence of the Bhars in the Hamīrpur District is attested by the traditions, which will be presently described, and by local names in every pargana. A few examples of such names out of many may be of interest; thus the old name of the town of Sumerpur (in Parg. Sumerpur) is Bharuā, and in the parganas of Maudhā, Panwārī-Jaitpur, Jalālpur, and Raṭh, respectively, we find localities named Bharsawān, Bharwāra, Bharkharī or Barkharī, and Bhanraurā Kerā, and in several of these cases the evidence of the name is confirmed by that of tradition." With respect to *Baragaon* Genl. Sir A. Cunningham (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. I, p. 28) says: "By the Brahmans these ruins (of Baragaon) are said to be the ruins of Kundilpur . . I doubt the truth of this Brahmanical tradition, more especially as I can show beyond all doubt that the remains at Baragaon are the ruins of Nālanda, the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India."

[37] About *Barabar* compare *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 40–53. Sir A. Cunningham derives the name from "*bara* and *awara*, or *Barawara*, the great enclosure (see p. 43)," as there was an enclosure on the Siddheśvara hill. See *ibidem*, vol. VIII, pp. 35–37.

[38] Genl. Sir A. Cunningham identifies the *Bardaotis* of Ptolemy with Bharhut. See *Arch. Survey of India*, IX, pp. 2–4 and XXI, p. 92. Compare also *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XVI, pp. 401–416.

Mirzapur probably owed their origin to the Bhārs. Mr. C. A. Elliot states that "almost every town whose name does not "end in *pūr*, or *ābād*, or *mow*, or is not distinctly derivable "from a proper name, is claimed by tradition, in the east of "Oudh, as a Bhar town. The district of Bharaich . . . is their "oldest abode, and the name of the town Bharaich is said "to be derived from them." Traces of the Bhārs abound according to Mr. Duthoit, late Superintendent of the Maharaja of Benares, "on all sides in the form of old tanks and village forts. One cannot go for three miles in any direction without coming upon some of the latter." Not very long ago the Bhārs were the lords of the soil in the districts of Benares and Oudh, and according to the still prevailing tradition in Azimgarh, the Rājbhārs occupied the country in the time of Rāma. The structures left by the Bhārs prove that they were equally proficient in the arts of peace and of war. The remains ascribed to them are especially numerous in the Benares district.[39]

Benares or Vārānasī (Bārānasī) lies on the banks of the *Barna* (or *Varaṇā*), where it flows into the Ganges. I am of opinion that *Bārānaṣī* owes its name to the Bārs or Bhārs. I assign likewise the name of *Behar* or Bahar to the same origin, especially as the Bhārs were once the rulers in this district, and as the usual derivation from *Vihāra*, a Buddhist temple, seems to me very problematic, the more so

[39] Compare Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 357–375 on the Bhar tribe, and the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XII, p. 89: "It is said that Nagar Khās and Pokhra, and the land generally around "the Chando Tāl, were originally in the possession of the Bhars, who may "possibly, therefore, have founded some of the ancient sites in that "neighbourhood." Read also *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 305, about the *Bharādīs* (or Bhar-ahādīs).

On the other hand, Mr. Smith, *ididem*, vol. XLVI, p. 234, remarks: "The Bhars of Bundelkhand, so far as we know them, seem to have "possessed little of the arts of civilization, and to have consequently left "behind them almost nothing of architectural or artistic interest."

as Behar was not the only district in India which was covered with such religious buildings. Not far north from the old town of Behar lies to this day the district and village of *Bar. Bahar* is also the name of a small place in Oudh. It might perhaps be advisable to discontinue deriving the names of Indian localities from Sanskrit words, as has been usually done hitherto, unless where such derivations are well supported. General Sir A. Cunningham thinks that too much stress has been laid upon the popular traditions which ascribe nearly all the ancient remains to the Bhārs.[40] But, impossible though it may be to prove the authenticity of the legends, it can hardly be doubted that a good deal of truth does underlie them.

In the explanation of the local names a great difficulty arises because many words of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and

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[40] See Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 67: "It has been the fashion to refer all the remains of antiquity in Eastern Oudh to the barbarous race of aboriginal Bhars."

Instead of proving the incorrectness of such statements, that may be, and indeed are, wrong in some cases, Sir Alex. Cunningham substitutes another etymology, to which also many *real* objections can be made. He is in favor of substituting for the name of the *Bhar* people that of the bar (banian) tree, which is in Sanskrit *Vaṭa*. Speaking of the native *burr* as mentioned on p. 38, in note 34, he continues on p. 140 of vol. XVII: "To "this class I would refer the name of the banian tree, *bat*, which is "invariably pronounced *bar* or *war*, with a burring *r*. Hence, as *da* means "water in several of the aboriginal dialects, we have *Wardā*, or the 'Banian "tree river.' That this is the true derivation of the name seems nearly "certain from the plentifulness of the banian tree in the Wardā district, "where we also find the names of *War-ora*, *Warar*, *Wargaon*, *Warhona*, "*Warha*, *Wargai*, *Warjhari*, *Warkuli*, *Warnera*, and *Waḍnera*, and *Baḍnera*, "several times repeated; and even the name of Berār itself is said to be "properly *War Hār* or *Barhār*, the country of the *bar*, 'a banian tree.'"

Some of these etymologies appear very doubtful, especially those of *Wargaon* and *Berar*. I should perhaps remark that the places given by Sir Alex. Cunningham differ from those quoted by me on p. 39. It is also peculiar that most of the localities above mentioned are written with an initial *W*. Compare also the notices about the Banian (*Bar*) forests in the *Haveli* pargana in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVIII, pp. 52–54, and vol. XXII, pp. 13–15.

other origin are very similar to the tribal name of the Bhārs.[41]

These people formed no doubt a considerable portion of the old population of Northern India. Though the Aryan power was for some time paramount in this part of Bharatavarṣa, and our historical accounts about the Bhārs begin at a considerably later period—in fact after the Buddhist reformation—we are as yet unable to define the time of the supremacy of the Bhārs. I am of opinion that the Aryan invaders subdued the Bhārs, and kept them in the background till they in their turn were vanquished by other intruders. The non-Aryan population continued to occupy the ground as previously in the capacity of landowners, farmers and serfs. The Buddhist re-action brought them again to the front. Some of them who were landholders or farmers were called Bhūmiyas, from *Bhūmi*, land, and are now known by this name.[42]

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[41] E.g., *bār*, *bhār*, *bhārā*, burden; *bār*, signifies also in Hindustani according to the various words from which it is derived, time, water, prohibition, &c.; *bārā*, boy, *bārah*, twelve, *bar*, excellent, *barr*, wasp, *barā* and *baṛā*, large, *baṛ*, Indian figtree, &c.

[42] See General Sir A. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, pp. 130-131: "There is a ruined fort on the hill above the village "(Bhuili). The derivation of the name is not known, but I suspect it to be "connected with the great tribe of *Bhuïas*, and that it may be only a "slightly altered form of *Bhuïāla*. The Bhuïas are by far the most numer-"ous class in the Chunār and Sahsarām districts. They are evidently the "aborigines or old inhabitants of the country. Buchanan writes the name "Bhungihār, but I believe that the proper appellation is simply *Bhūmia*, or "men of the earth, or *autochthones*, a title given to them by the Brahmans. "They generally call themselves *Musahar*."

See the *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, edited by Montgomery Martin; London, 1883, vol. I, p. 168: "The "Bhar have been fully mentioned in my account of Puraniya, in the north-"western parts of which, and in the adjacent parts of Tirahut and Nepal "they were at one time the governing tribe;" further, pp. 176, 177, 178: "In this district the most numerous of these tribes is called *Musahar*, and they, "probably like the *Bhungiyas*, are the remains of the armies of Jarasandha. "In some parts, Musahars and Bhungihars are reckoned two names for "the same tribe, which is probably a just opinion (176). The *Rajwars* are a

As many changed or disowned their tribal name, the seeming disappearance of the Bhārs can be explained to a great extent. They were also largely absorbed by other

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"pretty numerous tribe (177). They pretend that their common ancestor was "a certain Rishi, who had two sons. From the eldest are descended the "Rajwars, who became soldiers and obtained their noble title; from the "younger are descended the Musahars, who have obtained their name from "eating rats which the Rajwars reject... They differ in scarcely any of their "customs from the Musahars....The *Rajwar* and *Bhungiyas* are allowed to be "higher than the Musahars....They all speak a very impure dialect of the "Hindi..The Musahars live chiefly in little round huts, like bee-hives; "but the huts of the Bhungiyas and Rajwars are of the usual form. The "Bhungiyas and Rajwars have chief men called Majhis, like those of the "hill tribes in Bhagalpur." (178); vol. II, p. 119.

About the Musahar read: "The Musheras of Central and Upper India," by John C. Nesfield, in the *Calcutta Review* of January 1888, pp. 1–53. On p. 2, Mr. Nesfield says: "In Buchanan's *Eastern India* they are "described as a people 'who have derived their name from eating rats.' "In an old folk-tale, which has recently come to my knowledge, the name "is made to signify flesh-seeker or hunter (being derived fron *masu*, flesh, "and *hĕra*, seeker)."

Compare Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 81, 82, 92, 130, 148—

"The *Kocchis* then gave a line of princes to Kamrup; at this time a part "of Upper Asam was under a mysterious dynasty, called the Bhara Bhuya, "of which no one has ever been able to make anything (81)..All the works "still existing in the deserted forests of the northern bank of the Brahma-"putra are attributed to the Bhara Bhungyas or Bhuyas (82). (Buchanan, "vol. II, p. 612, mentions already the legend of the 12 persons of *Bārah* "*Bhuiyas*.)..The *Koech* appear to me equally out of their element among the "Lohitic tribes..In short I consider they belong to the *Dravidian* stock, and "are probably a branch of the great Bhuiya family, and we thus obtain a clue "to the tradition of the Bhara Bhuiyas, to whose period of rule so many great "works in Asam are ascribed(92).

According to Colonel Dalton, p. 327, the Rājwārs in Sirgūja "are skilled "in a dance called *Chailo*, which I believe to be of Dravidian origin." See the two articles "On the Bārah Bhāyas of Eastern Bengal," by Dr. James Wise, in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. LXIII, pp. 197–214, and vol. LXIV, pp. 181–83. Dr. Wise relates the history of five Bhūyas, *i.e.*, of Fazl Ghāzi of Bhowāl, Chand Rāi and Kedar Rāi of Bikrampūr, Lakhan Mānik of Bhaluah, Kandarpa Nārāyana Rāi of Chandradīp, and Īsa Khān, Masnad-i-Ali of Khizrpūr.

Compare further *Note on Mahāsthān near Bagurā (Bogra)*, *Eastern Bengal*, by C. J. O'Donnell, *ibidem*, LXIV, pp. 183–186. On page 183 we read: "With regard to Mahāsthān he (the District Deputy Collector) seems more "correct. He identifies it with *Bārendra*, the capital of the Bārendra "Hindus. In favour of this view the only arguments are strong, though

castes and communities, but a sufficient number of them still exists.[43]

Many Rājputs have Bhār blood in their veins, and Dr. Francis Buchanan went so far as to state that the *Parihāra* Rajputs of Shahabad are descended from the Bhārs.[44]

"simple. The whole country between the Ganges, the Mahānandā, Kāmrūp, "and the Karatoyā, was undoubtedly the old Barendra Desha. To the "present day, much of it is called 'Barind.'.. All round it, however, there "are shrines, holy wells and embankments connected with the name of "Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers .. Bhīma is said to have made a large "fortified town south of Mahāsthān, which is marked by great earthworks "altogether about eight miles long, and still in places as much as twenty "feet high. The whole country between them and Mahāsthān is in places "covered with bricks.... It may be mentioned in connection with Mahasthān "that there is a legend that on a certain occasion twelve persons of very "high distinction and mostly named Pāla came from the west, to perform "a religious ceremony on the Karatoyā river, but arriving too late, settled "down on its banks till the next occurrence of the holy season, the Nārāyaṇī, "which depends on certain conjunctions of the planets, and was then twelve "years distant. They are said to have built numerous places and temples, "dug tanks, and performed other pious acts. They are said to have been "of the Bhuinhar or Bhāman Zamindar tribe, which is, at the present day, "represented by the Rājās of Banāras and Bhettia." See also *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 115.

[43] The Census of 1881 counts 382,779 Bhars, of whom 20,870 live in Bengal, 1,639 in the Central Provinces, and 360,270 in the North-Western Provinces.

[44] See Dr. Buchanan's report in Montgomery Martin's vol. II, p. 463: "In the account of Shahabad I have mentioned, that those pretending to be such (*Parihar Rajputs*) were in fact *Bhars* or Bhawars, and the same might be supposed to be the case here (in Gorukhpoor), where the Bhars were once lords of the country; but the Bhars here do not pretend to have any kindred with the Parihars, and the latter are not only allowed to be a pure but a high tribe;" and vol. I, 493: "The tribe of palanquin-bearers, including *Parihar Rajputs*, *Rajbangsi Bhars*, and *Rajbars* amounts to about 500 families."

Compare P. Carnegy in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 300-2. "Many years of the official life of the writer have been devoted to duties "which involved the examination of the genealogies of some of our oldest "and best native families, and the results of his inquiries have led him to "the following conclusions: (1) that not a single member of the landed "gentry or local priesthood can trace back to an ancestor who held an acre "of land, or who administered a spiritual function within the area under "inquiry during the Bhar supremacy; (2) that scarcely any of them can "trace back to an ancestor who came into Audh at the Muhammadan advent,

The Bhārs like other tribes have embraced the different creeds, which from time immemorial prevailed in India;

"when the Bhars, who were then in universal possession of the land, were "overthrown; and (3) that the great mass of the landowners of to-day can "trace no further back than to an ancestor whose origin is easily discovered "to be both indigenous and spurious... I have found the opinion so gener- "ally entertained that there was a Rajpūt conquest and colonization of "Audh, that it requires a distinct answer...I have not discovered the exist- "ence of any such central tradition of conquest by Rājpūts from without.. "I can refer to the histories of many Rājpūt clans,..but none of them declare "..the arrival of an army of clansmen, and colonization by the victors with "their families and kin. The very fact of the singular connections to which "so many of the clans trace their descent is opposed to the idea of a con- "quest by arms. An orthodox Hindu, the conqueror of a low-born race, "would not have founded a family by an alliance which his religion sternly "rebuked...It is finally noticeable that the Audh clans who claim an extra- "provincial origin, trace their descent to single Chatrīs, and not to troops "of Rājpūt invaders. Such are the Bais of Baiswāra,..and the Rājkumārs. "..With these two exceptions none of the clansmen of eastern Audh claim a "western origin. In regard to the *third* class, it is always invidious to "enter into details of *pedigrees*, but a few amongst very many available "instances may be given. The Kanpūria is one of our most important "clans; so is the Bandelgot. In twenty generations according to the "members, both these pedigrees are lost in obscurity; but what the world "says is this, that they are the offspring of mal-alliances between two "Brahman brothers, and women of the Ahīr and Dhārkar tribe. The "Amethia is not an unimportant clan. They call themselves Chamār-gor "Rājpūts, and their generations are not longer than the other named. "What the world says of this, is that a Chamār-gor is the offspring of a "Chamār father and a Gor-Brahman woman. Moreover within the memory "of man, an Amethia Chief has, according to Sleeman, taken to wife the "grand-daughter of an ex-Pāsī Chowkildar and raised up orthodox seed "unto himself. The Raotars are another numerous clan with but half the "number of generations, and with precisely a similar parentage as the Kan- "pūrias (Brahman-Ahīr). Their name is taken from Rawat, an Ahīr chief. "The Pulwars are influential and numerous, and of these it is said that they "are descended from a common ancestor, who had four wives, of whom "one only was of his own status, the others being a *Bharin*, an *Ahīrin*, and "another low caste woman. Here we have a Hindu-Bhar origin freely "admitted. The Bhalesaltan clan, also, is comparatively modern, and of "equivocal Ahīr origin. There are numerous families of Bais, too, who are "in no way related to the Tilokchandī Bais of Baiswāra. The former are "modern and equivocal, the term Bais being, it may be mentioned, the most "ready gate by which enlistment into the fraternity of Rājpūts could for- "merly be achieved....Finally, all those landowning families, who can only "urge an indigenous origin, must, whether they admit it or not, recognise "the fact that they are descendants of Bhars, for every acre of land was

but Buddhism and Jainism were naturally more popular than any other foreign religion.[45]

A considerable number of Bhārs fills the post of village policemen, while others are ploughmen, but the vast majority of this race are now in a miserable condition.

In spite of the abilities they exhibit when suitably employed, and in spite of the reputation of their ancestors which has survived to this day, the descendants of the ancient rulers of the land have now lost nearly everything and are reduced to the most abject condition.

The Mārs, Mhārs, Mahārs, Mhairs or Mers.

While speaking about the Mallas I availed myself, on pp. 21 and 22, of the opportunity of introducing the Mahārs or Mhārs, whom I recognised as the people who had given their name to *Mahārāṣṭra*. But it was not to that country alone that the Mahārs were confined, for they have always been occupants of Rājputāna. The provinces which now go by the name of (Ajmere) Mhairwāra and (Jodhpur) Mārwār are their ancient home. "The *Mair* or *Mera* is," according to Colonel Tod, "the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he "inhabits is styled *Mairwarra* or the region of hills." These hillmen by and bye populated the plain and are also found there.[46] They remained masters of the soil until they were ousted later on by victorious invaders. As chiefs and warriors, like other aboriginal tribes, they have a claim to be

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"owned, and the country was throughout peopled by these alone and by "no others."—Compare also the article "On the Bhar Kings of Eastern Oudh," by W. C. Benett, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, 1872, pp. 265 and 266.

[45] Compare *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 303.

[46] See *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod, vol. I, 680.—The name of *Mārwār* is generally connected with Sanskrit *maru*, desert, mountain, rock. I believe this derivation to be wrong, though it gives a pretty good explanation of the diversified nature of the country, which is hilly in one part and arid in the other.

called Rājputs, for the name of Rājput or Rājaputra confers only a social, and not an ethnological distinction. The term Rājput is generally applied to an Aryan Kṣatriya, though everybody knows that the victors intermarried freely with the vanquished non-Aryans, who were never totally annihilated, and that the Mārs and other non-Aryan tribes claim relationship with the Rājputs.

No real ethnological difference between a Mār (Mhār, Mahār) and a Mhair (Mer) has been found to exist. It has been previously mentioned that, according to Colonel Dalton, "Mār or Māla is a very uncertain name applied "to or assumed by different people in different parts of India, "but it may be that there is some affinity between all the "tribes who bear it."[47]

Many Mārs (Mhārs) have clung to their hills as strongholds; some have comfortably settled down as cultivators, while by far the greater part are exposed in consequence of their indigence to severe oppression, and are treated like Pariahs. In fact, the history of the Mār (Mhār) resembles that of the Bhār and the Pariah, and, like the latter, he has also retained in the Dekhan a small amount of influence. For, according to Mr. R. N. Gooddine, "he is the "watchman and guardian of the village and the living chro- "nicle of its concerns. His situation or his curiosity makes "him acquainted with everybody's affairs, and his evidence "is required in every dispute. Should two cultivators quarrel "respecting the boundaries of their fields, the Mhār's evidence "ought to decide it, and should a similar quarrel happen "between two villages, the Mhārs are always the chief actors

[47] See Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, 681; Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. I, 97: "All the inhabitants of Mhairwārā bear the common title of Mairs or hillmen, which, however, must be regarded rather as a geographical than as a social or religious distinction;" and VII, 514, "Most of these (the Mīnas and Mhairs) claim irregular descent by half-blood from Rājputs, while some of them are closely connected with the Bhīls."

"in it, and to their decision alone it is sometimes referred. "The Mhār is emphatically called the *village-eye*."[48]

The Maṟavar.

The *Maṟavar* in Madura and Tinnevelly likewise claim the position of Rājputs, and if we regard them as a warrior tribe, they are entitled to this distinction. They are also most probably in some way connected with the Mārs of the north. The Maṟavar have to a great extent preserved their freedom and independence. They are brave, warlike, and self-willed like most semi-barbarous races, but they have latterly taken to more peaceful pursuits than they used to follow formerly. They were once very numerous, but are now greatly reduced in numbers. Their chief is the *Sētupati* of *Ramnād*, one of the oldest and most respected princes in Southern India, and who is still highly honored by,

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[48] See this extract from Mr. R. N. Gooddine's Report on the "Village Communities of the Dekhan," in vol. II, pp. 207-208 of Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, as well as Sherring's further remarks.

Mr. W. F. Sinclair says (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, 1874, pp. 130, 131): "The *Mahârs* or *Dheḍs* are the most important caste of Parwâris. Whether they are the aborigines of the country or not, there does not seem to be any way of deciding; but it seems to me that the term Mahârâshtra, generally translated 'country of the Marâthâs,' is at least as likely to mean 'country of the Mahârs;' and I throw this out for more learned Sanskritists to decide upon. However, they are a very important people in it now, nor must it be supposed that their position, though socially low, is without its rights and dignities . . . The Mahâr, as I have mentioned, is not only the guardian of boundaries, but also of the public peace and health, as watchman and scavenger; of communications, for he should guide travellers and make petty road repairs; and of the public treasure and correspondence, for it is his duty to carry the revenue to the treasury, and convey all messages on account of Government. It will be seen that he has no sinecure (and) . . it is obvious that he is not one 'of the Queen's bad bargains.' These duties belong to the Mahâr as *yeskar*, or village watchman . . . But the *Tarâl* or gate-ward, an officer found in a good many villages, is generally also a Mahâr by caste. The term *Dheḍ* is simply Hindustani for a Mahâr and is found as we go northward." Compare "Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India," by Lieut.-General Briggs, *Royal Asiatic Soc. Journal*, XIII, pp. 275-309, specially p. 281. See my remarks about the origin of the term *Mahārāṣṭra* on pp. 22 and 23.

and exacts honors from, the surrounding chiefs and princes. The active life which the Maṟavan leads in the open air has imparted to him great bodily strength. He can be easily distinguished from other natives by his good figure and generally erect and proud bearing.[49]

The Pariah, Pahāria, Parheya, the Brahui, Bār or Bhār and the Mār, Mhār or Mahār of our day should, as I hope to have proved, be regarded as the descendants of the original Dravidian population. I am of opinion that all these tribes, whose names contain the letter *r*, are the representatives of the first and oldest stratum of the Dravidian race, and that the descendants of the *Malla* or *Palla* are those of the second stage, from which the other part of the present Dravidian population has been gradually evolved.

Religious and Social Privileges enjoyed by Pariahs.

In Mysore the *Holiya* or *Holeya* (ಹೊಲೆಯ, ಹೊಲೆಯ takes the place of the Pariah. The word Holiya may be another form for Pulaiya, unless we assume that the *l* in Holiya is a change from *r* and connect the word Holiya with Paṟaiya.

However despised a position the Pariah and the Holiya occupy in the places where they live, they have preserved and still cherish, as the Mhār and Bhār do, the memory of former greatness and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil. Political revolutions, about which we now know nothing, have most probably been the cause of

[49] Maṟavan also means originally *mountaineer*, but Mr. Nelson in his *Manual of Madura*, has quoted (II, p. 39) a legend, according to which the Maravar sided with Rāma against Rāvaṇa, and Rāma thanked them and "exclaimed in good Tamil, *Maravēn* or 'I will never forget'; and that they "have ever since been called Maravans. With more probability the name "may be connected with the word *maram*, மரம், which means killing, "ferocity, bravery and the like." See Nelson's *Manual*, II, p. 38–42, on the Maṟavar.

their subversion by other kindred Dravidian tribes. Yet, considering the unstable nature of the Indian states, the continual disturbances and fighting which give to Indian history such an unpleasant and unsatisfactory appearance, there seems nothing peculiar in the claims advanced by those Pariahs, who are in reality the descendants of the original inhabitants. The Pariah calls himself to this day the elder brother of the Brahman, claiming in this manner precedence of the Brahman. The Brahmans on the other hand ascribe the origin of the Pariahs, Caṇḍālas, and other low castes to the connection of Brahman women with low caste men, or to the curse which sages, like Viśvāmitra, were so fond of uttering against their own flesh and blood, or against any one who was unfortunate enough to come across them at an inauspicious moment. The legend of the curse of Viśvāmitra's sons is interesting, as it ascribes to them the origin of some wild tribes like the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, and Pulindas.[50]

The Pariahs have according to the *Ñāṉaṟeṭṭi* eighteen titles like the Veḷḷāḷar and possess also the same insignia.[51]

The chief goddess of the Pariahs is called *Āttāḷ* or *Ammāḷ*, mother, and represents Pārvatī as mother of the earth, while

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[50] The elder fifty of the hundred sons of *Viśvāmitra* offended their father, and being cursed by him, became outcastes and the forefathers of all the wild tribes.

According to an old tradition, found in the Purāṇas and retold in the *Kulasaṅkaramālā* of Veṅkaṭācalācāryar of Rāyapuram and in the Kanarese *Sōmēśvaraśataka*, Vasiṣṭha was the son of Urvaśī, the famous divine prostitute, and the husband of a Caṇḍala woman of the Cakkili caste, who was in reality *Arundhatī*, reborn as a Caṇḍālī. As such she bore him one hundred sons, ninety-six of whom disobeyed their father and reverted to the Pañcama (fifth) or Pariah caste, while the four others remained Brahmans.—*Agastya* was, as already intimated on p. 24, n. 25, in this birth the brother of Vasiṣṭha.

[51] Among these insignia are mentioned the following: white, earth-circle umbrellas; lion, swan, green and white, monkey (*Hanuman*), cuckoo, plough-handle, wheel and lion faced flags; a trumpet; closely carried torches (*aruku*) and day torches; victorious bells, two white chowries, white elephant; white horse; ivory palanquins; cuscus fan, flute; white petticoat, two poles with cloth across the street (*makaratōraṇa*), golden pot, &c.

as *Pīḍari* she resembles through her evil inclinations Kālī. Different personifications of Pārvatī and Kālī are variously named, as Vēḷāttāḷ (Ēḷāttāḷ), Nāgāttāḷ, Ēgāttāḷ, Cēmāttāḷ, Māriyāttāḷ or Mariyamman, Aṅgāḷamman, Ellamman, Puṅganamman (Puṅgāttāḷ), &c. Temples are found everywhere in South India, and she is generally the village goddess. *Māriyamman*, the goddess who inflicts and removes small-pox and other diseases, is found among the Gauda-Dravidians of the whole of India.

The feasts of these goddesses extend over a week and last occasionally sixteen days. During the whole of this time a Pariah is kept clothed and fed in the temple as the accepted bridegroom of the goddess. High across the streets festoons of margosa leaves are hung, and on the last day, while pots filled with water are carried by the people and the idol is taken in procession round the streets of the village, tom-toms are beaten in honor of the Pariah bridegroom, and after he has fasted and bathed, he gets a new cloth dyed with saffron, and the priest fastens a quarter anna piece to the right hand of the goddess and another to that of the Pariah. This ceremony is called *kāppu*, காப்பு.

The name Vēḷāttāḷ is commonly explained as mother of Subrahmaṇya, from Vēḷ and Āttāḷ. Nāgāttāḷ is regarded to signify the same from Nāgan (Subrahmaṇya) and Āttāḷ. Some Tamil scholars however do not favor this explanation. When revered in these forms Pārvatī or Kanyākumārī is regarded as a Pariah woman or Mātaṅgī.

The Pariahs enjoy even now, in many places, privileges, the origin of which cannot be explained except by admitting the existence of substantial reasons, which have long been forgotten. A Pariah ties to this day the tāli round the neck of Ēgāttāḷ, the tutelary goddess of Black Town in Madras. The Pariah, who acts as the bridegroom, arrives at the temple about ten days before the feast commences and is treated as described above. At *Perambūr*, near Madras, the same deity

is called *Cēmāttāḷ*, mother of safety. In Mysore a Holiya is generally the priest of the village goddess, and the Kulvādi or Pariah headman of the village community is regarded as the real proprietor of the village. At Mēlkōṭa a Holiya presents to Celvapiḷḷai, or utsava-idol, which is thus called as it is carried in procession at the festival, a branch of the Cami or Vahni tree to be used as an arrow for his bow at the hunting festival (*pārivēṭṭai*), and while the idol is moving in procession, a Pariah huntsman lets a hare run across the road in front of the car that the god may shoot at it; this done, the idol returns in grand procession to the temple. The Pariah receives as a reward (*pāritōṣikam*) a garland, the flowers of which are distributed among the heads of the large conflux of Pariahs. This hunting festival is in Malayālam called *palliveṭṭa*, or royal hunt. It is just possible that *pāri* and *paḷḷi* are identical words. The Holiyas pull the car at Mēlkōṭa and are not debarred from approaching it. They pull also the ropes of the cars at Kāñcipuram, Kumbhakōnam, Śrīvalliputtūr, and other places. In fact they do so wherever there are big temples. To obviate any unpleasantness arising on such occasions, it is laid down, as a rule, that the touch of Pariahs and outcastes who come to revere the deity does not pollute.

Dēvālayasamīpasthān dēvasēvārtham āgatān
Caṇḍālān patitān vāpi spṛṣṭvā na snānam ācarēt.[52]

The Holiyas are permitted in Mēlkōṭa to enter the Tirunārāyaṇa temple on three days of the year. The Brahmans ascribe this privilege to the circumstance that a poor but pious Pariah had observed that a cow approached every day a white ant's hole and let her milk drop into it. He searched and discovered that the image of Celvapiḷḷai was concealed in it. In consequence, the Pariah took compassion on the cow

[52] One need not bathe if one touches Caṇḍālas or outcastes, who stand near the temple and have come to worship God.

and supplied her daily with fodder. The great Vaiṣṇava reformer, Bhagavat Rāmānujācārya, had at the same time been dreaming of this Celvapillai image, and the Pariah showed it to him. As a reward for this act of piety, Rāmānujācārya allowed the Pariahs to enter the temple in future for three days of the year. Others say that this favor was granted because the Pariahs had protected him in their paṛaicēri, when he was pursued. Very likely, the privilege is of older origin. A similar custom prevails in *Kadiri*.[53]

It is most peculiar that the origin of the famous Jagannātha temple is also closely connected with the low-caste Pariahs. A *Śavara* mountaineer, called *Bāsu*, worshipped in secret the blue stone image of Jagannātha, to obtain which the powerful king of Mālva, Indradyumna, had despatched Brahmans to all quarters of the world. One of them penetrated at last into the wilderness where Bāsu lived. Bāsu detained the Brahman, made him marry his daughter, and led him after some time blindfolded to the place where the image of Jagannātha was lying concealed. The Brahman

[53] Compare "Archæological Notes," by M. J. Walhouse in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, 1874, p. 191: "It is well known that the servile castes in Southern India once held far higher positions, and were indeed masters of the land on the arrival of the Brahmanical caste. Many curious vestiges of their ancient power still survive in the shape of certain privileges, which are jealously cherished, and, their origin being forgotten, are much misunderstood. These privileges are remarkable instances of survivals from an extinct order of society—shadows of long-departed supremacy, bearing witness to a period when the present haughty high-caste races were suppliants before the ancestors of degraded classes whose touch is now regarded as pollution. At Mēlkotta, the chief seat of the followers of Rāmanuja Acharya, and at the Brahman temple at Baḷḷur, the Holeyars or Pareyars have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year, specially set apart for them. At the 'bull-games' at Dindigal, in the Madura district, which have some resemblance to Spanish bull-fights, and are very solemn celebrations, the Kallār, or robber caste, can alone officiate as priests and consult the presiding deity. On this occasion they hold quite a Saturnalia of lordship and arrogance over the Brāhmaṇs. In the great festival of Śiva at Tṛ́valūr, in Tanjore the head-man of the Pareyars is mounted on the elephant with the god, and carries his *chauri*. In Madras, at the annual festival of the goddess of the Black Town, when a *tāli* is tied round the neck of the idol *in the*

worshipped the god, and, after the lapse of some time, was able to communicate his discovery to the king. As the king was very proud of his power, the god Jagannātha, in order to punish his pride, did allow him to build the temple, but did not manifest himself personally to Indradyumna. This favor was granted him after prolonged delay, and it was only with the help of the Śavara Bāsu that the image could finally be obtained and removed. Until very recently, pilgrims of all castes and outcastes frequented Puri and partook together of their meals, as the presence of Jagannātha is said to destroy all distinctions of caste, race, and faith; but now out-castes are no longer allowed to enter the sanctuary and to join in the eating of holy food, though the food prepared and sanctified at Puri can be eaten by Brahmans anywhere, even in the presence of the lowest people. The descendants of Bāsu are thus debarred from worshipping personally their own divinity.

Many Pariahs have attained high renown as poets and saints. Take for example, *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyanār*, the author

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name of the entire community, a Pareyar is chosen to represent the bridegroom. In Madras, too, the mercantile caste, and in Vizagapatam the Brāhmans, had to go through the form of asking the consent of the lowest castes to their marriages, though the custom has not died out." See Mr. J. D. B. Gribble's *Manual of Cuddapah*, p. 241.

See *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* by Bishop Caldwell, second edition, p. 548: "Thus, at the annual festival of Ēgattaḷ, the only mother—a form of Kāḷi, and the tutelary goddess of the 'Black Town' of Madras—when a *tāli*, or bridal necklace (answering to our wedding ring), was tied round the neck of the idol in the name of the entire community, a Pareiya used to be chosen to represent the people as the goddess' bridegroom."

I am indebted to the Rev. H. Jensen of the Danish Lutheran Mission for my statement concerning the continuation of the service of a Pariah at the Ēgaṭṭaḷ temple in Black Town.

Major J. S. F. Mackenzie has contributed on p. 36 of volume VIII of the *Indian Antiquary* an article on the "Customs of the Comti Caste." Most of the statements that note contains I have repeatedly heard in Madras, and I myself possess some documents confirming them. I quote this subject here merely as it ought not to be entirely omitted, and as it affords strong evidence of the great influence and authority once enjoyed by the now-despised Pariahs—an influence which apparently is exercised even at the present time.

of the Kuṟal and his so-called sister, the famous poetess, *Avvai*, the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvār *Tirupāṉ*, the author of the work beginning with *Amalaṉ Ādipirāṉ*, who was brought up by Pariahs, and the Śaiva saint *Naṇdaṉ*, who was a Pariah. A Kurumba robber, *Tirumaṅgaimannaṉ*, became afterwards a celebrated Vaiṣṇava Āḻvār.

These and many other instances can be adduced to prove the once flourishing condition of the now despised lowest classes.

Wrong Derivation of the term Holeya and Pulaya.

The Telugu Pariahs are called Mālavāṇḍlu, its corresponding term in Tamil *Mālar* is often used in the sense of Pulaiyar and equivalent to Paraiyar. The word Māla, in the sense of mountaineer or barbarian, occurs in Sanskrit. As the word *holeya* is derived from *hole*, ಹೊಲೆ, pollution, and the South-Indian *Pulayan* from *pula*, പുല, pollution, so also is Malaya occasionally derived from the Sanskrit *mala*, taint. All these derivations rest on no substantial philological grounds. They have been suggested by the accidental resemblance existing between the Sanskrit words *mala*, taint, and *pala*, flesh, and the Dravidian *pula* (*hole*), pollution, and their derivatives on the one side and the names of the *Mallas* or *Pallas* on the other side, and are used to revile and as an excuse for despising the low defenceless and ill-treated population.[54]

This tendency to revile strangers, enemies or slaves is, however, not confined to any particular country. *The Tatars*, when they first invaded Europe, were called Tartars, because they were supposed to have come from *Tartarus* or hell.

I further believe that all such Sanskrit words as *malla*, *māla*, *malaya*, *palli*, *&c.*, which are connected with the name

[54] Mr. Lewis Rice in his *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, p. 312, ventures another derivation : "the Holayar, whose name may be derived from *hola*, a field."

of the Mallas and Pallas, to have been introduced into that language from Dravidian.

Caste distinctions among Pariahs; Right and Left Hand Castes.

The Pariah caste is divided into 18 classes[55] like the Vellāḷar, as has been already intimated. The first class of the Pariahs is called the Vaḷḷuvapparai. The highest caste of the Pulayar in Cochin also bears the name of Vaḷḷuva. One great cause that keeps the Pariahs and the Paḷḷar apart, or that prevents them from being on friendly terms with each other, is the fact that they take different sides in the great question of *right-hand* and *left-hand* castes.

The reference to this distinction necessitates some remarks. The cause of the division into *right-hand* and *left-hand* castes, and the time when this difference arose, are both unknown, though weighty reasons can be adduced against assigning to it a very early period. The legendary reports abound with suspicious details which militate against their trustworthiness. The contest seems to have been both national and religious.[56]

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[55] Dr. Winslow enumerates in his *Tamil-English Dictionary* the following classes among the Pariahs: The Vaḷḷuvapparai, Tātapparai, Taṅkalānparai, Turcalipparai, Kuḷipparai, Tipparai, Muracapparai, Moṭṭappārai, Ampupparai, Vaṭukapparai, Āliyapparai, Kōliyapparai, Vaḷippārai, Veṭṭiyārpparai, Caṅkupparai. Compare Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, III, pp. 75–79. Mr. W. F. Sinclair says in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 130: "The *Parwāris* should not by rights be called outcastes, seeing that they have caste of their own, obey its rules, and squabble among themselves for precedence with a pertinacity worthy of ambassadors."

[56] In the edition of a portion of the Kuraḷ which was published together with an English translation and valuable notes by one of the earliest and best European Tamil Scholars, the late Mr. T. W. Ellis, of the Madras Civil Service, is found on page 44 the following passage: "Intercourse with foreign nations, the extension of commerce, and other circumstances have in latter times materially altered the manners of the olden time and infringed the privileges of the landed proprietors, but they have not been able to prevent a lively tradition of them remaining, and this has given origin to the dissensions between the factions denominated *Valang-caiyār* and *Idung-caiyār*,

The five classes of artisans—the carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, braziers, and masons, well known in Southern India as *Pañcāḷar* or *Kammāḷar*—regard themselves as the real Brahmans and, as the descendants of the divine artificer *Viśvakarma*, call themselves Viśva Brahmans. They assume the title of *Ácārya*, wear the holy thread, and claim the right to perform religious ceremonies among themselves, especially at marriages. They further declare that there were originally five Vēdas, but that *Vēda Vyāsa*, in order to curtail their privileges, suppressed the fifth and arranged the other four in such a manner as suited Vyāsa and the false Brahmans whom he headed; that he tried to win the reigning king over to his side, and, when he did not succeed, that he instigated the king's murder and placed an illegitimate son on the throne, who conferred on Vyāsa the dignity of priest of the royal family. According to one version Vyāsa induced the king to issue a proclamation, enacting that all those who sided with the king should be styled right-hand caste men, and all those who opposed him left-hand caste men. Another tradition asserts that Vyāsa's right hand was cut off by a bigoted Śaiva, who heard Vyāsa swear with his uplifted right hand that Viṣṇu was superior to Śiva and that he had never in his Purāṇas opposed Viṣṇu.[57] Others transfer these

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or, as commonly though improperly called, *the right and left hand castes*; the former including the whole of the agricultural tribes, who endeavour, under a different order of things, to maintain their ancient pre-eminence; the latter, including chiefly the trading and manufacturing tribes, who endeavour, and in modern days generally with success, to evade it."—According to the late Dr. Burnell (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, (1873), p. 274): "The distinction arises primarily from the landowners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, artizans, and other interlopers forming the other. But the constituent castes of either party vary." The Pañcālas or Kammāḷar are known in Tamil by the title of *Ācāri* ஆசாரி.

So far as I am informed, and as I have stated above, the Brahmans are not included in either faction, though some lists mention them as partisans.

[57] Compare the *Decision of the Cittūr Jillā Court* (చిత్తూరు జిల్లా అదాలతు కోర్టులో తీర్పు) printed at Cittūr, 1881, on these dissensions. An account

events to Kāñcipuram, and declare that, when the two opposed parties brought their complaints before the Pallava king reigning over the Cōla country, the Kammāḷar, Bēri Ceṭṭies and their friends were sitting on the left hand of the king and the Veḷḷāḷar and their adherents on the right hand. The left-hand side is regarded by the Kammāḷar as the place of honor.

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is given on page 29 of the circumstances in which Vyāsa lost his hand. His opponent is in this Cittūr Decision described as వీరముష్టి యైన అతడు. *Vīramuṣṭi* means a Vīra Śaiva or Jaṅgama, who precedes a procession, holding a shield and brandishing a sword. He is also called Vṛṣabhēśvara. The Skandapurāṇa contains also the story about the cutting off of Vyāsa's arm. Captain J. S. T. Mackenzie connects the *Vyasanu-tōlu Kallu* (Vyasana's armstone) found in Mysore with this event. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, (1873), p. 49.

As the Paṅcāḷar claim the privilege of being their own priests and the Brahmans oppose this claim, many disputes and even serious disturbances of the public peace have ensued. Such was the case, *e.g.*, at Cittūr in 1817. Through the kindness of the present Judge at Cittūr, Mr. Crole, I have obtained a copy of the judgment from which I give the following extracts:

After mentioning the names of the plaintiffs and the six defendants it begins: "1. This suit was brought against the defendants by the plaintiffs to recover Rs. 530¼ damages on account of the defendants having prevented the plaintiffs from celebrating a marriage in their family.

"The record consists of the plaint, three answers, one reply and two rejoinders . . . 2. The plaintiffs in this suit call themselves Kammālars, the descendants of five Brahmas. The Kammālars follow five crafts, namely, that of carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith, mason and brass-smith. 3. The plaintiffs state that they and their tribe have been accustomed, and that they consider themselves entitled, and have resolved, to conduct their own marriages, and other domestic and religious ceremonies without the interference of the Brahmins, to which tribe the defendants belong. The plaintiffs maintain that one of their own tribe is their *Guru*, and performs their religious rites, and that they will not attend to, nor employ a Brahmin therein, and they state their confidence that no Court of Justice can give the defendants or Brahmins liberty to enter their houses by force to officiate at their ceremonies, moreover, they state that they are neither of the Vaisya nor Sudra tribes, but are descendants of Brahma and that therefore they do not require Brahmins to officiate for them. That moreover they, the plaintiffs are Deva, or divine Brahmins, and that the defendants are *Go* or cow Brahmins who were originally Sudras, and by certain penance and ceremonies obtained Brahminism, and that they, the plaintiffs, can prove their right from the Veda, Smriti and Vasishthapurānum and the Silpa Śastram. 4. The principal defendants, namely, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th maintain that they are Brahmins of the Siva Bhakti and have a right to perform the ceremonies

The charge of having suppressed the fifth Vēda is very extraordinary indeed, especially if one considers that the original number of the Vēdas is indicated by the name *Trayī*, or Trinity, representing the Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma Vēdas, and that the fourth or Atharvavēda is generally ascribed to a later period. The existence and destruction of a fifth Vēda, assuming such a work to have ever existed, must therefore be assigned to a comparatively late or modern time.

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and religious rites of the plaintiffs who they state to be Sankaras, or outcastes of the Sudra tribe. The defendants in consequence deny that the plaintiffs could ever become Brahmins, though they were born again ever so many times. Moreover that if the plaintiffs think proper to perform the marriage and other ceremonies using forms of prayers taken from the Veda they will not only be liable to suffer a great punishment in their next birth, but to be punished criminally by the executors of the law appointed by Government, who they state would never suffer the plaintiffs to perform any ceremonies contrary to the law of their sect, to ascertain which the defendants request that the opinion of the law officer of the Court may be taken on the subject. 5. The above is the sum of the difference between the parties. . . 9. The evidence in this case is very long and contradictory, but the Court has no doubt from a consideration thereof but that the defendants did actually, seriously and violently molest the plaintiffs in the celebration of a marriage which the plaintiffs were celebrating though they (the defendants) did not actually prevent it, as the marriage took place notwithstanding their interference, though not without the plaintiffs meeting with much obstruction from the defendants. 10. It is a notorious fact which the plaintiff's witnesses have deposed to, that the plaintiffs and persons of the Kammālar caste (like Kannadiyar, Satānis and Jainas) do frequently celebrate their religious festivals without calling in the Brahmins of any other sect to aid them in the performance of any part thereof. The plaintiffs have declared that they admit those marriages only to be perfectly regular, which are celebrated by Gurus of their own appointment. They do not admit the superiority of any other tribe to themselves. These opinions they state to be according to the Hindu Sāstra, but it is a point and a right, which it is well known the Siva and Vishnu Brahmins do not admit, and therefore it has not been considered necessary to consult on this subject the pandits of the Courts, no more than if it were a question of law regarding a religious difference between any other sect and the Brahmins, on which they never would agree. If the plaintiffs, who deny the superiority of the defendants as Brahmins do in their tribe choose to follow or relinquish any ancient custom or to establish any new ceremony which is not contrary to honesty, decorum, and the peace of the country, neither the defendants nor any other persons have any right to interfere, nor would the officers of Government

The division of the population into right-hand and left-hand castes occurred most likely simultaneously with the religious agitation which introduced into Southern India the now prevailing Brahmanical supremacy. The imminent decay of the Jaina power opened a fair prospect to the Brahmans of which they were not slow to take advantage. They gathered round them their followers, while their opponents, who represented in certain respects the national party, did the same. This movement seems to have been originally

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ever interfere, if it should not appear to be necessary for the peace of the country. It appears that marriages celebrated by Gurus of the plaintiffs own sect have been for a long period at least admitted by a very great body (if not perhaps by the whole) of them, and at all events are now by them acknowledged to be good and proper and valid, and according to *their* interpretation of the Sastra perfectly conformable thereto. No other sects therefore have any right to interfere, especially a sect (namely that of the defendants or Smarta Brahmins) which the plaintiffs do not acknowledge to be superior to them; for the plaintiffs' rejection of them (the defendants, the Smarta Brahmins) as their spiritual guides or Gurus is what the defendants themselves acknowledge that any Hindu is at liberty to do. Thousands among themselves (the Smarta Brahmins) have of late years left them and from being Siva bhaktars have become Vishnu bhaktars, and have consequently chosen the Gurus of another sect to be their Gurus. Had the plaintiffs introduced ever so many innovations into their ceremonies (which they do not appear to have done), as they do not admit that the defendants have any more concern with them (the plaintiffs) than they (the plaintiffs) have with the defendants (Brahmins), the latter had no business to go near them on the occasion of the celebration of their marriage. They (the defendants) have no right to force themselves as Purohitas upon any tribe who do not acknowledge them, as their superiors, and Purohitas. In the opinion of the Courts the plaintiffs were, and are, fully entitled to perform (the marriage in question or any other) their religious ceremonies in such a manner as the tribe to which they belong may from time to time establish to be the rule and form of their caste, and it is so decreed accordingly . . . Given under my hand and the seal of the Court this twenty-eighth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

(Signed) JOSEPH DACRE,
Judge."

In 1843 a similar case was tried in Salem before a Brahman, N. Krishnamâchâryulu . . . A Pañcâlan, Râmaliṅgachâri, for claiming certain rights, had been insulted and severely beaten by some persons, and his sacred thread had also been torn to pieces. The defendants pleaded that Râmaliṅgachâri, as belonging to the Goldsmith caste (or *Kamsalajâti* in Telugu) had no right to study the Vêda and to undertake any Prâyaścitta, or any other religious cere-

confined to Southern India, its centre being at Kāñcipuram, the seat of so many religious and political dissensions, where there are to this day special halls for both parties, called Valaṅkai-maṇṭapams and Itaṅkai-maṇṭapams.[58] As the Pallar and the Pariahs belong to different hands and the Valluvar are the priests of both, the division into right-hand and left-hand castes must very probably have taken place after the Valluvar had obtained this position. At the time of *Bhagavat Rāmānujācārya* this division into right-hand and left-hand castes was already an acknowledged institution, as different hours were assigned to right and left hand people for entering the Celvapillai temple at *Mēlkōṭa*, which place is also called *Patitapāvanakṣētra*, *i.e.*, the field where even outcastes can be purified. The influence of the Jainas was perhaps strongest in towns where the artisan classes form an important and powerful portion of the population, while the Brahmans appealed to the land-owning and agricultural classes, whom they won over by entreaties or by threats. The Brahmans have not joined and strictly speaking do not belong to either side, but their interests lie mainly with the right side. As in various localities the same castes have embraced different sides, it is difficult to assign to all a permanent position. Yet, on the whole, the principal parties on both sides are always the same.[59]

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mony, whose performance is a privilege of the Brahmans, and that the Kamsalajāti ranked according to the Dharmaśāstra among the Grāmacaṇḍālas. The Court concurred in this view and the case was dismissed, Rāmaliṅgāchāri paying costs. See *Sēlam Jillā Tīrmānavu*, Madras, 1886.

[58] On p. 326 of the *Jātisaṅgrahasāra* (in Tamil ஜாதிசங்கிரகசாரம்) is mentioned a copperplate order or *Tāmraśāsanam* which confirms the position of the Vanniyar, they held at Kāñci during the reign of *Sukhakalyāṇa* in the 762nd year of Śālivāhana Śāka; but, though it is stated there, that this Śāsanam is still preserved, no one seems ever to have seen it.

[59] The quarrels and actual fights which occurred between these hostile parties have given rise to much litigation before Magistrates and Judges, especially in the Chingleput and North-Arcot districts. The judgment of George Coleman, Judge and Magistrate of Chingleput, dated the 25th July

This dissension must have seriously affected, for some time at least, the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial interests of the country, for, as both parties were stubborn, a great deal of inconvenience must have been felt, till each party was able to supply its own wants. The right-hand side had in these circumstances to seek a fresh supply of artisans until the necessary knowledge was acquired by men in its own ranks. Some who joined it were perhaps deserters from

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1809, specifies the different people of both hands, gives their emblems, flags and instruments, and fixes certain privileges.

I have applied to the Court and gone to Chingleput with the express purpose to obtain a copy of this important judgment from the District Court, but it could not be found among the records, though many decisions of less consequence and of earlier years are still extant.

However, through the exertions of Mr. A. Krishnasvamy Iyer, B.A., an official of the Accountant-General's Office, and a much esteemed former pupil of mine, I have been able to secure a Tamil manuscript copy of the judgment. On the *right hand* are enumerated the *Vēḷāḷar* and *Kavaraikaḷ* with the following insignia: white umbrella, white flag, curved fan, chowry, arukuṭṭivaṭṭi, plough, plough-flag, monkey-flag, cuckoo-flag, parrot-flag, bell, conch, wheel stick, big-drum, green, blue lotus garland, *Āṭṭi* flag, *Tavaṇṭai*, trumpet; 2, *Vaṭuka Vēḷāḷar* (Northern or Telugu Vellaḷar) with swan flag; 3, *Reḍḍikaḷ* with plough flag; 4, *Kammavārukaḷ* (agricultural labourers) with bull-flag; 5, *Kontaḷavarkaḷ* with chakora flag; 6, *Nattamān* with Āḷi flag; 7 *Malaiyamān* with *Aritāḷa* or *Śrītala* flag; 8 *Kōmaṭṭikaḷ* (merchants) with cotton-flag, *Makaratōraṇam*-drum, Vimumayir, Iṭimuracu; 9, *Iṭaiyar* (shepherds) with wheel; 10, *Vaṭuka Iṭaiyar* (Telugu shepherds) with conch; 11, *Kaṇṇiṭaiyar* (Kanarese shepherds), with tent, . . . five-coloured flag; 12, *Patmacāliyar* (weavers) with tiger vehicle, male tiger flag; 13, *Paṭṭucāliyar* (silk weavers) with two-headed bird flag; 14, *Vaṭukacēṉiyar* (northern weavers) with jasmine flag, Nākapācam, five-coloured flag; 15, *Jāṇṭravar* (Telugu weavers) with crocodile; 16, *Kaṇṇiṭaiya-Cēniyar* (Kanarese weavers) with wild jasmine garland, big eagle flag, Vicurutaṇṭai; 17, *Paṭṭunūlkāṟar* (silk thread weavers) with silk flag; 18, *Cōṭar* (weavers) with tortoise flag, and *Koḻiñci* flag; 19, *Cēkkuvāṇiyar* (oilpress mongers) with ceḍaiceṭi (ceṇṭu-toṇṭu), elluṟāci, sesamum-leaf garland, garuḍa-flag, drum; 20, *Iḷaivāṇiyar* (leaf oil-mongers) with kovai-garland, drum, cuckoo flag; 21, *Oṇṭi eṟuṭu vāṇṇiyar* (one bullock oil-mongers) with five-coloured parrot flag; 22, *Jaṇappar* (hemp dressers) with chowry flag; 23, *Muccīyar* (painters, &c.,) with makara flag; 24, *Kāñciyar* (braziers) with Poṭi flag; 25, *Vōṭukārar* (basketmakers) with Cikkiri flag, wooden-legged horse, sword flag; 26, *Nari cōkiyar* (Fox-beggars) with dog flag; 27, *Tamiḻ Kucavar* (potters), *Vaṭuka Kucavar* (Telugu potters), *Kuca Kaṇakkar*; 28, *Mēḷakkāṟar* (flooters) with drum flag; 29, *Naṭṭuvar* (dancing masters) with cymbal flag; 30, *Dāsikaḷ*

the hostile camp, while others were outsiders, Muhammadan artisans, for instance, who were allowed to earn their living in the Hindu community by following their profession.

The fifth caste formed of outcastes is in consequence of this dissension divided into two great hostile camps, on the right side are ranged the Pariahs, and on the left side the Cakkilis or leather-workers. It appears that there prevails in some parts of the South the peculiar phrase: " the Pariahs

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(dancing girls) with Manmatha flag; 31, *Cāṇār* and *Īḷar* (toddy-drawers) with kuṟiñci flag, knife and ladder; 32, *Kuṟavar* (mountaineers, foresters, snake-catchers, basketmakers, salt-sellers), with donkey flag; 33, *Cukkār ceṭṭi lampāṭikaḷ* (salt-sellers) with picturesque flag; 34, *Vēṭṭakkārar* (hunters) with sling flag; 35, *Paṭṭanavar* (?) with tortoise flag; 36, *Karaiyar* (sea-coastmen) with fish flag; 37, *Oṭṭar* (road-makers and tank-diggers from Orissa) with spade flag; 38, *Uppaṟavar* (common tank-diggers) with pig flag; 39, *Pōyi* (bearers) with palanquin flag; 40, Paṇiceyvōrkaḷ (?) (menial servants?) with Tārai (trumpet) flag; 41, *Tamiḻ Vaṇṇār* and *Vaṭuka Vaṇṇār* (Tamil and Telugu washermen) with curved knife, lotus garland and white elephant; 42, *Tamiḻ Nāvitar* (Tamil barbers) with tumpai garland, animal with human face; 43, *Vaṭuka Nāvitar* (Telugu barbers) with nākasaram (musical instrument); 44, *Tompuṟavar* (rope-dancers) with Keṭai flag; 45, *Māriyamman Pucārikaḷ* (Māriyamman priests) with small drum flag; 46, *Pucārikaḷ* with hollow brass ring flag; 47, *Iruḷar* (wild foresters) with iron bar flag; 48, *Arippukkār Kavarai* (kavarai weavers) with lotus flag; 49, *Vaṭuka Paṇḍāram* (northern mendicants) with battle-axe flag; 50, *Vañcūrār* (?) with pearl flag; 51, *Kuṭukuṭuppaikāraḷ* (soothsaying beggars) with sākti flag; 52, *Eṉāti* (forestmen) with hare flag; 53, *Kalācukārar* (lascars) with cart flag; 54, *Veḷikkarumār* excommunicated blacksmiths) with bellows and hammer flag; 55, *Veḷikal taccar* (excommunicated carpenters) with chisel flag; 56, *Kappal taccar* (ship carpenters) with adze flag; 57, *Kappal vaṭukar* (Telugu sailors) with ship flag; 58, *Paṇṭar* (bards) with sword flag.

The people and ensigns of the fifth class are - 1, *Pavuniyar* or *Paḷaṅkal* (processionists) with ḍamara (drum) flag; 2, *Valluvar*, *Māvaṭṭiyār* and *Veṭṭiyār* (mahaut), *Puṟaiyar* and *Paṇṭapaṟaiyar* with white umbrella, white chowry, white flag, conch, vajra stick, trumpet (tamukku), drum (tappaṭṭai), paṅka (trumpet), tuttāri (short trumpet), big tuttāri, paṟaiya music, five pots and white makara (alligator) festoons.

The *left hand* musters 1, *Pōri Ceṭṭikaḷ* (*Bōri* merchants) with kite flag; 2, *Nakara Vāṇiyar* (town oil-mongers) with *toṇṭu* garland and garland of nine gems; 3, *Kaikkōḷar* (weavers) with tiruvaraipattiram, aḍakkam, lance, male vulture, lion flag, bear flag, deer flag, peacock flag, cuckoo flag, drum; 4, *Kammāḷar* (artisans). [This class is composed of the *Taṭṭār* (goldsmiths), *Kannār* (braziers), *Cirpar* (masons), *Kollar* (blacksmiths) and *Taccar* (car-

are not left-hand people, they belong to the Tamils;" an expression whose exact meaning it is difficult to make out especially as a *Tamilan* or Tamulian denotes, in Madras, a Hindu in general, and not a Pariah.[60] I believe that the meaning of this phrase is that, as the Tamilar or Vellāḷar, the masters of the Pariahs and principal Śūdras, are right hand men, so are their dependents, the Pariahs. The Pariahs enjoy

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penters); the word Kammāḷa is most likely the Sanskrit Kammāra, which occurs already in the Vēda in the meaning of artificer.] With hammer, chisel, adze, compass or ulakaṇi, stick, parrot flag, eagle flag, or white kite flag; 5, *Pallikaḷ* with big axe, crane feather, vēṅkai garland, red lotus garland, crow flag, cloud-coloured flag, fire flag, cock flag, vulture flag, fox flag, date flag, stone flag, green flag, hair-queue flag, drum and bow, kuṇṭali, black flag.

As belonging to the fifth class of the Iṭaṅkai are mentioned—1, *Paḷḷar* with nelli garland and crab flag; 2, *Cakkiliṟikaḷ* (leather-workers) with saffron screen, black garland, warrior sword, cocoa leaf, drum, curved stick.

Mr. Coleman's decision refers also to the manner in which temple, funeral and other processions should be performed by the different castes, but to quote his remarks here would lead us too far away.

The Government Oriental Manuscripts' Library contains two lists of the right and left hand castes. 98 different divisions are ascribed to each sect. If the lists had not been very inaccurate, I should have printed them here, but they place *inter alias* the *Kammāḷar* on the right-hand and the Brahmans on the left-hand.

Dr. Macleane (in the Administration Manual, vol. I, p. 69), though without producing confirmatory evidence, makes the important statement that the *male Pullies* belong to the right and the *female Pullies* to the left hand. He says: "The following lists show the more important of the castes "which take part in the disputes of the rival hands. On the left hand, "Chetties, artisans, oilmongers, weavers, Patnavar, male leather-workers, and "female Pullies. On the right hand; Vellaulars, Cavarays, Comaties, account-"ants, silk-weavers, male Pullies, Pariahs and female leather-workers. "It is to be observed that the females of two of the inferior castes take differ-"ent sides from their husbands in these disputes." I have made inquiries among the Pallis on this point and they deny the correctness of the statement, yet it is very difficult to decide such a question, unless both sides produce their authorities. It must certainly appear peculiar that husband and wife should belong to the different rival hands, as if it were desirable to specially provide causes for domestic disagreements. Mr. Nelson has, as will be seen on the next page, made a similar statement concerning the Cakkilis in Madura.

[60] The Rev. E. Löventhal of Vellore communicated to me the existence of the saying: பரையர் இடங்கை அல்ல அவர்கள் தமிழர்; "The Pariyar are not left hand, they are Tamilians."

also the honorific title of *Valaṅkamattār* or *Valaṅkulattār* and claim in consequence precedence over the left-hand *Paḷḷar*.

The Tamil Cakkili, the Telugu and Kanarese Mādiga, and the Marātha *Māng* all do belong to the same caste. Their occupation is mostly connected with leather and rope making. The enmity between the common Pariahs and these people is very acrimonious as it concerns precedence; and a *Māng*, who as ropemaker is generally also the hangman, is said to regard as his proudest and most meritorious action the hanging of a Mahār or Marātha Pariah. Nevertheless, the Pariahs and the Cakkilis, when not actually engaged in hostilities, acknowledge each other in a friendly manner as brothers-in-law. In his Madura Manual (II, p. 7) Mr. Nelson mentions the curious fact that in Madura the Cakkili women belong to the right-hand and their husbands to the left-hand.

The words *Māng and Mādiga* are corruptions of *Mātaṅga*.

The division of the *Śakti* worshippers or *Śāktas* in Dakṣiṇācāris and Vāmācāris has nothing in common with the right or left hand castes. This difference concerns merely the pūjā, inasmuch as the *dakṣiṇācāra*, the right observance, allows only milk, fruit, cakes made of blackgram, and other sweetmeats and sweet drinks, while the *vāmācāra*, the left or adverse observance, permits, besides the mentioned eatables and drinks, meat and liquors also.

The Valluvar.

The oppression which the Pariahs and Pallar have suffered has not drawn them closer together, but yet these two classes have their priesthood in common. These priests are called Valluvar, and their name has become renowned by *Tiru Valluva Nāyanār*, the author of the famous Tamil work the Kural (குறள்). It is evident from this appellation itself, that Tiruvalluva Nāyanār is not the real name of this

celebrated man, but only his title.[61] This poet, who was born and died at Mailapur, a suburb of Madras, showed in his writings a knowledge of, and a tendency towards Jainism; and though some deny the fact of his having been a Jain, other Valluvar admit it: at all events the title Nāyanār may be taken in favor of such an assumption, as it is used by the Jains as an honorific appellation. The word means *lord* and *devotee*, and is probably a contracted form of the Tamil honorific term *Nāyakanār*, from which the syllable *ka* has been dropped. *Nāyaka*, a leader, especially a leader of troops, *i.e.*, a general, is derived from the Sanskrit *nī*, to lead. This word becomes in Tamil *Nāyakan* (Naik), in Telugu *Nāyaḍu* (Naiḍu), and in Malayālam *Nāyar* (Nair), and is used as a title by many Hindus in Southern India; it is adopted in the

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[61] The accounts given about *Tiruvalluva Nāyanār* are very obscure. One fact alone is clear that he belonged to one of the lowest classes of the population, but that the highest classes could not ignore his talents, and to save their superiority connected his birth with the Brahman caste. Another important item of information is that other celebrated Tamil poets as *Kapilar* and *Avvai* are also brought into intimate contact with the same lower classes. The legend given below makes Kapilar, Avvai and Tiruvalluva Nayanar, brothers and sister, though it is manifest that they did not all live and compose their works at the same time; still the connection of all with one another and with the Pariahs and Pulayar is very peculiar indeed.

Brahma performed, according to the legend, a sacrifice for the explanation of the Sanskrit and Tamil languages and *Agastya* arose from it out of a pot. The sage married the daughter of the Ocean, and had from her a son *Peruñcārakan*. His son married at Tiruvālūr a Pulaiyan woman or *Pulaicci*, and their offspring was *Bhagavan* (ಭಗವಂ). About this time there lived *Tavamuni*, a scion of the Brahmavaṁśa, who had married a Brahman woman *Aruḷmaṅkai*. They had a daughter, but left her behind to perform a sacrifice at the Virali mountain. A Pariah of Uraiyūr found the girl, and brought her up, until there fell a downpour of earth which killed all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood except the girl, who took refuge in the house of one *Nītiyappan* at Melūrakaram. On his way to Benares the young Bhagavan stopped at the choultry near Melūrakaram, when the girl passed. He asked her whether she was a Pulaicci or Valaicci, and beat her with a wooden ladle on her head, so that it bled, and the wound left eventually a scar. On his return from Benares the pilgrim stopped at the same inn and again saw the young girl, who had since become very beautiful, at the house of Nītiyappan, but he did not recognise her and asked her foster-father to give him his

same meaning by the Bhillālas, Mahārs and Gonds. The word *Valluvan* வள்ளுவன், (*Pl.* Valluvar) I take to mean "the honorable Palla;" Vallu or rather Pallu being the collective name of the Palla caste and *an* (*ar*) the honorific pronominal affix. The present position of the Valluvar is highly interesting. He is famous for his superior attainments in Astrology, and is much consulted when horoscopes are to be cast. Though socially an outcaste, he is respectfully treated by Brahmans and especially by Brahman ladies, who often have recourse to his advice. He wears the holy brahmanical thread or *yajñōpavīta*, in Tamil *pūṇuṇūl* or *pūṇūl*.[62] At the weddings of Pariahs and Pallar he utters Sanskrit passages

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daughter in marriage. He consented and the marriage was celebrated when Bhagavan returned from Rāmēśvaram. On his anointing, according to the ceremonial, the head of his bride, he saw the scar on her head and recognised her as the girl he had beaten. Ashamed he ran away, but the girl—who was henceforth called Āti (ஆதி)—ran behind him. At Pāṇaccēri she overtook him at last, when Bhagavan exacted from her the promise that she would leave behind her all the children which they might have on their journeys. She consented and much against her inclination kept her word, advised by her babies to do so. Thus were born *Avvai* (அவ்வை) or Auvai (ஔவை) as an incarnation of Sarasvatī, *Uppai* (உப்பை) in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, *Atikamān* (அதிகமான்) in Karuvūr, *Uruvai* (உறுவை) in Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam, *Kapilar* (கபிலர்) in Tiruvārūr, *Valli* near the Vēḷā mountain and *Tiruvalluvar* in an oil nut tree tope at Mailapūr.

All these children play important parts in the legends and poetry of Southern India. *Avvai* was nursed by hunters. *Uppai* was brought up by washermen and married a Pariah grave-digger. They were very poor, and she was attacked by small-pox, and went about covered only with margosa-tree leaves. Thus she became known and worshipped as Māriyamman. *Adikamān* was educated by Ceramān, *Uruvai* by brewers, *Kapilar* by the Brahman *Pāpaiya*, and *Valli* by Kuṟavar. The names of *Tiruvalluvar* and of most of his so-called brothers and sisters are no proper names.

[62] *See* Ñānavetṭi (ஞானவெட்டி) ascribed to Tiruvalluva, Nayanār edited by Aruṇācala Mudaly, p. 9, stanza 40, which begins (பூணூல் தரித்துக்கொள்வோம் சிவ சிவ) (Pūṇūl tarittukkoḷvōm, Śiva, Śiva) "Let us wear the sacred thread, Śiva, Śiva, let us follow the promptings of the five senses; let us carry all the insignia, especially the white umbrellas and white chowries, as well as the golden fans used by the gods and sages, beautiful marks and clothes. Let us praise by worshipping the beginning and ending of Ōm, in which lustre of wisdom and divine essence are manifest."

in the marriage ceremonial, the meaning of which he probably does not know. Considering how jealous the Brahman priests are of keeping secret their sacred verses, it is very strange indeed that the Valluvar knows and uses some of them. This knowledge must have been acquired long ago, perhaps at a time when friendly relations still existed between the Brahman settlers and the original population.

He is most probably the representative of the ruling class of ancient times, and his name can still be easily discerned, as it is preserved in historical records and geographical accounts. I need only mention the *Valluvakōn*, of Valluvanāḍu, the king of the Valluvar, who presided at the great assembly of Kēraḷam, when a new Perumāl was chosen every twelfth year to rule over the whole of Malayāḷam. I pointed out some years ago the connection which exists between the Valluvar and Pallavas and shall recur to this question later on.

All this splendour of the Valluvan has departed and he is now known only as the priest of the Pariahs and Pallar. He occupies the highest position among the Pariahs, while his name connects him with the Pallar, and among the kindred of the latter, *i.e.*, among the Pulayar of Cochin, the Valluvar still rank highest. We may perhaps be justified in regarding him as representing a link between the first and second Dravidian stage.

This suggestion will naturally be repudiated by the Valluvar, for they regard themselves as much superior to the people committed to their spiritual charge.

To accept the assertions of every individual Hindu would be to admit a separate creation for each tribe, sect, trade, profession, and calling. The pride of caste, even among the lowest in the country, the tendency towards exclusiveness, and the firm belief in individual superiority combined with a strong spirit of conservatism, divide the Indian population into innumerable sections. And as if the existing

distinctions did not suffice, new conditions and new complications are continually giving rise to new variations and combinations in Hindu society. Thus among the Vellâlar, such new castes have lately arisen, and, if I am not mistaken, some promoters of the widow-remarriage movement advocate the establishment of a new caste, composed of those who have married widows and of the offspring of such marriages.

CHAPTER V.

On the Pallar, Pallavas, Pulayar, Ballas (Bhallas), Bhîls, Pulindas, &c.

What was originally an accidental discrepancy in the pronunciation of the name of the Mallas or Pallas, though immaterial in itself, has produced occasionally in the course of time a real difference. It may perhaps be assumed, either that those who had descended from the mountains to the plains preferred to be called Pallas, because the Dravidian word *pallam* signifies *depth* or *low country*, or that they imparted this meaning to the term *pallam*, unless the vocal similarity between *Pallan*, a Palla, and *pallam*, low country, is regarded as an accidental freak of language.

In these circumstances one may be justified in distinguishing in certain localities, between the Mallas and Pallas as between Highlanders and Lowlanders, while we may find elsewhere Mallas living in the plains and Pallas on the mountains. After a prolonged residence of the descendants of the Highlanders in the plains and of the Lowlanders in the mountains, both might re-adjust their names to the actual places they are occupying, and call themselves, respectively, Mallar and Pallar.

The Pallas appear in Sanskrit literature as *Pallavas*, *Pahlavas*, *Pahnavs*, *Palhava* and *Plavas*.

The formation of the word *Pallava*[63] can be explained in different ways. It may have been derived from the word *Palla* which, being combined with the pronominal affix *an*, formed the honorific term *Pallavan*, and eventually dropped the final *n*; or, if of Sanskrit origin, the affix *va* may either have been added to Palla, or the Taddhita affix *a* to the term Pallu, which denotes the Pallar caste as an aggregate. In the latter case *Pallava* would have been formed from *Pallu* and ought to have been *Pāllava*, but according to Pāṇini V, 2, 127 (*arśa ādibhyo'c*) Vṛddhi or long *a* is not necessary.

The omission of one *l* and the insertion in its place of an *h* requires a few remarks in order to connect *Palhava*, *Pahlava* and *Pahnava* with *Palla*, which was no doubt the original Dravidian form with which the Aryans became first acquainted.

Before a language reaches the literary stage, dialectical differences excepted, only one form of speech does generally prevail, which is the language in common use, the popular or *Prākrit* idiom. In course of time, with the growth of literature, the language, or rather the literary speech, becomes more and more settled and stationary, and certain formations, owing to their having been preferred by poets and other authors, are widely adopted and supersede those previously used. The refined or *Sanskrit* language must have originated in some such manner. Its very existence presupposes the *Prākrit*, as the original Prākrit must be older than the later *Sanskrit*. The so-called Prākrit forms, which are found, *e.g.*, in the Vedic literature, should not for this reason be regarded as belonging to a later period, simply because they belong to Prākrit, as they may even represent

[63] The *Jātisaṅgrahasāra* on p. 171 says that *Pallavan* is derived from *Puravalan*, one who has got the strength of body, that *pura* was dropped in course of time, *V* changed into *P*, and *van* added.

the older Prākrit phase.[64] While Prākrit is indefinite, Sanskrit is definite and becomes in consequence ossified and unchangeable. Eventually it loses its hold on the people, but remains the linguistic standard of the educated and the dialect of the learned. It supplies in its turn the material for a modern Prākrit, which may likewise contain some relics of the original Prākrit, but from which, as prior to Sanskrit, it must be distinguished.

Applying these remarks to the special subject before us, it is not at all impossible that, as the Gaudian *Kaṇḍa* has been changed in Sanskrit into *Khaṇḍa*, similarly the original Dravidian and ancient Prākrit word *Palla* has been already at an early date altered and become *Palha* and *Pahla*, which three different terms were then in use at one and the same time. Sanskrit prefers on the whole a form whose pronunciation is more difficult than what satisfies the Dravidian languages. Some of these changes may have been made for reasons of which we are now ignorant. In support of my supposition that *Palha* or *Pahla* is a modification of *Palla*, I contend that a similar connection does apparently exist between the names *Kalhaṇa* or *Kahlaṇa* and *Kalla*; between *Balhaṇa*, *Balhi*, *Balhika*, *Balhīka*, *Bālhi*, &c., or *Bahlaṇa*, *Bahli*, *Bahlikā*, *Bahlīka*, *Bāhli*, &c., and *Balla*; between *Bilhaṇa* (*Vilhaṇa*) or *Bihlaṇa* (*Vihlaṇa*) and *Billa*, (*Villa*); between *Malhaṇa* or *Mahlaṇa* and *Malla*; between *Śilhana* or *Śihlaṇa* and *Śilla*; and between *Sulhaṇa*, *Suhlaṇa* or *Sullaṇa* and an original *Sulla*. The names ending in *ṇ* like Balhaṇa, Kalhaṇa, Malhaṇa and Sulhaṇa have some resemblance with those Dravidian names ending in *aṇṇa*, as Rāghaṇṇa, Nāgaṇṇa, &c. Of the change of double *l* into *lh*, the change of *Mallāri* into *Malhāri* in Marāṭhi affords an example.

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[61] For instance compare *kṛikalāsa* with *kṛikadāśu*, *purōdāśa* with *purōḷāśa*, *kṣullaka* with kṣudraka and *bhallākṣa* with *bhadrākṣa*, in Professor A. Weber's *Indische Studien*, II, p. 87, note.

The introduction of an *h* into words in which it originally found no place has already been commented upon when discussing on p. 61 the origin of the names *Mhār* and *Bhār* from Mār and *Bār*.

The practical result of this inquiry is the establishment of the Indian equivalents Pahlava, Palhava and Plava for Pallava and Palla, and the conclusion that the names of such peoples, where they occur in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and other ancient Sanskrit works, refer, in most cases, to Indian tribes and not to nations beyond the frontiers of India, *e.g.*, to the Persian *Pahlavas*. This assumption does not dispute the fact that relationship existed between Non-Aryan races dwelling on both sides of the Indian frontier.

The Pallar, as well as the Pallis, claim to be connected with the Pallavas. The Pallavarājas were in early times already rulers in this country. Some rājas, *e.g.*, those of the Śambhugōtra in the North near Rājamandry still affect the title of Pallavarāja and worship at their marriages the fire and the *vahni*-tree, a twig of which, as we have mentioned above, is used as an arrow at the hunting festival (*Pārivēṭṭi*) on the Vijayadaśamī during the Navarātri or Dasara feast.[65]

In accordance with the interchange between *v* and *m* which has been previously pointed out, the word *Pallava* can be easily recognized in the more modern *Vellama*, *Vellamba*, *Bhillama*, *Yellama* and *Ellama*. The connection between Valluva and Pallava has already been mentioned.

The majority of the Pallar now-a-days occupy the plains, but they have even there retained their innate predilection for the woods and mountains. Wherever possible, they erect their shrines in forests and on hills, and their marriages also take place in such localities. A pandal or wooden shed is there constructed to celebrate them. Before the marriage

[65] Read *The Pallavas* by the learned Rev. Thomas Foulkes, and see p. 53.

is actually performed, the bridegroom suddenly leaves his house and starts for some distant place, as if he has suddenly abandoned his intention of marrying, in spite of the preparations that have been made for the wedding. His intended father-in-law intercepts the young man on his way and persuades him to return, promising to give him his daughter as a wife; to this the bridegroom consents.[66] The marriage ceremony is then proceeded with: the Vaḷḷuva priest shows the *Tāli* or marriage necklace to the assembled guests, pronounces the necessary prayers and mantrams, and hands the *Tāli* to the bridegroom, who ties it round the neck of his bride. It is highly probable that the Paḷḷar adopted a part of their marriage rites, especially those resembling the Kāśiyātrā, from the Brahmans. The marriage of the Paḷḷar can be dissolved on either side; the husband divorces his wife by breaking the *Tāli*, and the woman can remarry. Should a wife run away from her husband, she can only remarry with the consent of a pañcāyat. A widow can remarry. The dead are either burnt or buried: burying is cheaper and, therefore, more common among the poorer of the lower classes.

[66] This custom resembles strangely the so-called *Kāśiyātrā* among the Brahmans and high-caste Hindus. Pretending to go on a pilgrimage to *Kāśī* (Benares), the bridegroom leaves his house with a wooden stick in his right hand, a kadjan (palm-leaf) book under his left arm, on his left shoulder he carries an umbrella, to which is tied a bundle of clothes, containing also some doll and other necessaries for the journey; his feet are encased in a pair of *pādarakṣa* or hard leather shoes, and on his head he wears a pugri. While on the road, he is overtaken by the father and mother of his bride, who carry respectively two cocoanuts and two vessels filled with water. The intended mother-in-law pours the water over the feet of the youth, while her husband washes them and then gives him the two cocoanuts. Both entreat him not to proceed to Benares, but to return and marry their daughter, to which proposals he eventually listens, and the wedding is celebrated as pre-arranged. The origin of this custom may be that, though every Brahman should visit Benares in order to study there, the young man cannot do so if he becomes a *gṛhastha* or family man. He saves, therefore, his conscience by simulating an immediate departure to Kāśī and manifesting thus his good intentions, which, though not carried out, will be credited to him as if he had actually performed the pilgrimage.

Mallan, *Kulantān*, and *Murukan* are common names among Palla men, while *Valli*, *Tēvānai* (for Dēvayāna corruption of Dēvasēnā) and *Kulantai* (Kulumai) are applied to their women.[67]

The Pallar are an industrious, hardworking, and hard-worked class of land labourers, found mostly in the Madras Presidency, and especially in the southern districts. They toil unintermittingly to enrich their masters, the actual owners of the soil, and they were, until very lately, not much better treated than bondslaves. The time is not remote when the owners of the ground even regarded them as their property, as Helots belonging to the land. Continual bad treatment and exposure to all kinds of hardship have been their sad lot, and it is only natural that this condition should have eventually told on their mental and physical development, but it speaks, on the other hand, much for the superiority of their original nature that, in spite of all the miseries endured, they have been able to retrieve their position under a kinder government and are now starting again with fair prospects of improvement.

The *Pulayar* of Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar correspond to the Pallar in the Tamil country, the Pallar settlers in these countries being often called Pulayar. Their fate resembles that of the Pallar. Constant exposure to the heat of a scorching sun, to the unceasing downpours of rain during the monsoon, and to the violent gales and thunderstorms so prevalent on the West Coast of India, combined with insufficient and unsubstantial nourishment, has undermined and stunted their physique, and their skin has in the course of generations assumed a colour approaching black as nearly as possible. Unfavorable local circumstances have made the position of the Pulayar even worse than that of

[67] Murukan and Murukēśan are also names of Subrahmaṇya. See note 16 on p. 16.

the most oppressed races in the Tamil country. The Pariahs or Pallar, who despaired of their sad lot, had at least a chance of improving it by running away from their oppressors without being caught again; but even this prospect was denied to the unfortunate Pulayan. Hemmed in on all sides by mountains, woods, backwaters, swamps, and the sea he could not hope to escape and to better his position; even if he evaded recapture, he had to face death in another cruel form in the wilderness in which he found himself entangled, and out of which he could not extricate himself.

Like the Pallan, the Pulayan, when well treated, has shown himself to be possessed of creditable mental and physical powers. In the census report of Travancore it is said of them that "they are an extremely useful and hard-working race, and are sometimes distinguished by a rare character for truth and honor, which their superiors in the caste scale might well emulate."

The degree of contempt with which the Pulayan is treated is evident from the disgraceful etymological derivation of his name from *Pula*, pollution, as has been already mentioned. Like every other Hindu, the Pulayan takes a pride in his caste and despises, in his turn, all those whom he regards as beneath him. As has also been remarked, the highest class among the Pariahs and the Pulayar is that of the Valluvar, who are moreover the priests of the Pariahs and Pallar. This seems to be another proof of the identical origin of the Pallan and Pulayan.

The chief deities of the Pulayan are *Mādan* and the *Five Pāṇḍavas*.

As a Pariah found at Mēlkōṭa the image of Celvapillai, as a Śavara was originally in possession of the sacred stone of Jagannātha, so also is the worship of Padmanābha in Trivandrum intimately connected with a Pulayan. Once a *Pulacci* or Pulaya woman, who was living with her husband in the Anantakāḍu jungle, suddenly heard the cry of a baby.

She rushed to the spot and saw, to her surprise, a beautiful child lying on the ground, protected by a cobra. She had compassion on it, and nursed it like her own child. The appearance of a cobra intimated to her the divine origin of the infant. This belief proved true, for the child was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. As soon as the Rāja of Travancore heard of this wonderful event, he built a shrine on the spot where the baby had been found, and dedicated it to Padmanābha. This is the origin of the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum. The Pulayar round Trivandrum assert to this day that in former times a Pulaya king ruled and had his castle not far from the present capital of Travancore.[68]

This constant connection of individuals belonging to the lowest population with the worship of the Hindu gods is indeed a very peculiar and significant circumstance.

While the Pallar on the East Coast and the Pulayar on the Malabar Coast are mostly agricultural labourers, the *Pulaiyar* and the *Palliyar* (*Palliar*) in Madura are on the other hand mountaineers. The former are regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Palani Hills, and have been the bondslaves of the Kunnuvar. The Palliyar dwell on the hills also in Madura and the adjacent districts, avoiding as much as possible any intercourse with strangers.

Related to the Pallas by kinship, and bearing also a similar name, are the *Balla* (Bāla, *Valla*, Vella) and *Bhālla* (*Bhilla* or *Bhīl*).

It is now impossible to decide or explain when and why the original name *Palla* became thus diversified; but after these dialectical variations had once come into use, it was advisable to retain rather than to drop them.

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[68] The god *Padmanābha* rests with his head at *Tiruvallam* and with his feet at *Tirupālapur* or Tirupādapur. The chief Nambūri priest of Travancore comes from Cochin and is called *Aḷuvañcēri Tamburakaḷ*. See also Rev. S. Mateer's *Land of Charity*, p. 161, and *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 34.

The Ballas.

The tribe which bears this name has become famous throughout India at different times and in different places. We meet the *Ballas* in the North as well as in the South, but their fame is especially connected with those countries which form now-a-days the north-western part of the Bombay Presidency, including its dependencies. Their ancient capital was the renowned *Balabhīpura* in Kāṭhiawār. Enormous ruins, spread over fifteen miles, are evidence of its splendour before its destruction in the eighth century. *Walla* lies now near the site of Balabhīpura. The kings of the Ballas are known as Balla Rājas (Balla-Raos), Balharas and Ballālas. The power and splendour of the Balharas excited the admiration of mediæval Arabian travellers who visited the Indian shores.

Some *Ballas* claim to belong to the *Sūryavaṁśa* or sun-line and trace their descent from Lava's son *Balla*. The bards praise them as *Tatta-Multan-ka-Rao*, the Lords of Tatta and Multan. They called the territory which they conquered *Ballakṣētra* with *Balabhīpur* as its chief town. The Ballas of Surat derive their origin from *Candra* or the moon and connect their pedigree with the Balikaputras, the ancient lords of Aror on the Indus. The present Ballas and the Kāṭhis, like their ancestors, still worship the sun, which is the presiding deity of Multan, a circumstance that intimates a Scythian and Non-Aryan origin. The Ballas are probably identical with the *Mallas* whom we have mentioned above. The Kāṭhi of Kāṭhiawār, who as Kathæi fought against the great Macedonian, claim to be descended from the Ballas.

The name of the Balla Rājas reappears in a different form at a later period in Mysore as the well-known Ballālas.

Many places, all over India, still preserve the name of the Ballas. I reserve this subject for a later chapter, but mention here only such places as *Belgaum* or Ballagrāma,

Ballasamudram, Ballapallem, Ballapur, Māblēśvar (Mahaballēśvara), &c.[69]

The Bhīls.

The Bhīls are probably aborigines of Mārwār. They live scattered over a great tract of country; they dwell so far north as the Aravalli Hills, and they are found in the

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[69] See Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 112, 113: "All the genealogists, ancient and modern, insert the Balla tribe among the Raj-culas. The *byrd*, or blessing, of the bard is *Tatta Mooltan ca rao* (Princes of Tatta and Mooltan), indicative of their original abodes on the Indus. They lay claim, however, to descent from the Sooryavansi, and maintain that their great ancestor, Balla or Bappa, was the offspring of Lava, the eldest son of Ram; that their first settlement in Saurashtra was at the ancient Dhank, in more remote periods called Mongy Pottun; and that, in conquering the country adjacent, they termed it Ballakhetr (their capital Balabhipoora), and assumed the title of Ballah-rae. Here they claim identity with the Ghelote race of Mēwar: nor is it impossible that they may be a branch of this family, which long held power in Saurashtra. Before the Ghelotes adopted the worship of Mahadeo, which period is indicated in their annals, the chief object of their adoration was the sun, giving them that *Scythic* resemblance to which the Ballas have every appearance of claim. The Ballas on the continent of Saurashtra on the contrary, assert their origin to be Induvansa, and that they are the Balica-pootras, who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus. . . . The Cattis claim descent from th Ballas; an additional proof of northern origin, and strengthening their right to the epithet of the bards 'Lords of Moolthan and Tatta.' The Ballas were of sufficient consequence in the thirteenth century to make incursions on Mēwar, and the first exploit of the celebrated Rana Hamir was his killing the Balla chieftain of Choteela. The present chief of Dhank is a Balla, and the tribe yet preserves importance in the peninsula."

Read also *ibidem*, pp. 216–219. "A work written to commemorate the "reign of Rama Raj Sing opens with these words: 'In the west is Sooratdēs, "a country well known: the *barbarians* invaded it, and conquered *Bhal-* "*ca-nath*; all fell in the sack of Balabhipoora, except the daughter of the "Pramara.' And the Sanderai roll thus commences: When the city of "Balabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and "Nadole in Mordur dēs. These are towns yet of consequence . . . The "tract about Balabhipoora and northward is termed *Bhal*, probably from "the tribe of *Balla*. . The sun was the deity of this northern tribe . . . "The solar orb and its type, fire, were the chief objects of adoration of "Silladitya of Balabhipoora." The Balarājas are also mentioned in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tod's *Travels in Western India*, London, 1839, pp. 147-149, contain the same information as above, to this is added the following: "The Balla pays adoration exclusively to the sun, and it is only in

deserts of Sind and Rājputāna as well as in the woody and inaccessible gorges of Kandesh and Ahmedabad.

The name of the Bhīls occurs in various Sanskrit works, and also in Ptolemy, VII, 1, 66. He makes mention of the *Phyllītai* together with the *Bettigoi* and *Kandaloi*.

Instead of connecting the *Phyllītai* with the Bhīls, as Lassen first rightly proposed to do, Sir A. Cunningham prefers to derive the term *Phyllītai* from the Greek word

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"Saurashtra that temples to this orb abound; so that religion, tradition as "regards their descent, and personal appearance, all indicate an Indo-scy- "thic origin for this race, and in order to conceal their barbarian (*mleteha*) "extraction, the fable of their birth from Rama may have been devised. "The city of Balabhi, written *Wulleh* in the maps, and now an inconsider- "able village, was said to be twelve coss, or fifteen miles, in circumference. "From its foundations, gigantic bricks, from one and-a-half to two feet in "length, are still dug; but of this hereafter. Enough has been said to "trace the origin of the Balhara of the Arabian travellers, the Baleokouras "of Ptolemy; for, even in the second century, it had claims to the attention "of the royal geographer of Egypt." See *ibidem*, pp. 156, 159–169, where Colonel Tod discusses the Arabic accounts of the *Balhara* princes of India. On page 160 he says: "We may remark upon this description, first, of the "title *Balhara*, that it was derived from *Ballā-cā-Raē*, whose ancient capital "was Balabhipoor, on whose site Ptolemy has placed a Byzantium." I also derive *Balhara* from *Balla Rāja*, the word *Balla* having undergone the change, which I have explained on pp. 71 and 72. Though Colonel Tod gives above the right explanation, he called these rulers on p. 145 "Balhara, or more correctly Balha-raes, exalted kings." The Arabic travellers, especially *Ibn Khurdadba* and *Al Idrisi*, styled these monarchs and interpreted their name *Balhara* as meaning king of kings, and the late Mr. Edward Thomas, of numismatic reputation, explained it to signify *Bara Rai*, great king or lord paramount of the time being. Compare about this subject "The History of India," edited from the posthumous papers of Sir H. M. Elliot by Professor John Dowson, vol. I, pp. 3-5, 9, 13, 21, 24, 86, 87, 201 and 354-358, which latter passage contains a great deal of information on this subject. The *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, par M. Reinaud; Paris, 1845, should be also consulted.

Colonel Tod devotes a special chapter to *Balabhi* in his *Travels in Western India*, pp. 268–271. "The name of this is now Balli, or Wullch . . Some interesting additions . . amply confirmed all I had recorded of it (Balabhi) from the Yutis of Balli and Sandera in Marwar, the descendants of those who were expelled on its sack in S. 300 (A.D. 214)" . . Still, both books and tradition connect the tribe of Balla with the ancient sovereigns of Balabhi . . The lord of Balla-khetra would, of course, be Bal-ca-rae, which doubtless originated the epithet, so often noticed, of the Balhara princes . . . Not far from Balabhi, there is a spot still sacred to the pilgrim,

φύλλον, leaf, and to assign to it the meaning of *leaf-clad*. This expression, according to Sir Alexander, appropriately describes the Gonds, though *parṇa*, leaf, is used only in connection with the Śabaras, as he himself admits when referring to them. There is no objection to his explaining *parṇa* by "leaf-clad," though it can also signify "leaf-eating." In fact I prefer to a certain extent the former interpretation of *parṇa*. But as the *Phyllītai* are mentioned by Ptolemy as a

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and connected with the grand national epic, the *Mahabharat*, called Bheemnath, where there is a fountain, whose waters, in past days, were of miraculous efficacy, and on whose margin is a temple to Siva, which attracts votaries from all quarters. The origin of this spot is referred to the adventures of the Pandua brothers, and their wanderings in exile amongst the forests of Berat, which tradition places in this very region, and its capital, Beratgurh, is held to be the more modern, but still interesting Dholka, included in Ballakhetra, and affording fresh and almost superabundant testimony to the veracity of the ancient chronicles of Mewar, which state Balabhi, Beratgurh, and Gurh-Gajni to have been the three chief cities, which owned their sway on their expulsion from the "land of the Sauras." The era of Balabhi, which is identical with the Gupta era, begins, according to the correct statement of Albīrūnī, in A.D. $319\frac{1}{2}$. The Balabhī grants are dated between the years 207 and 447 of the Gupta era. (See Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, 801, and *Travels in Western India*, p. 213, and in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XI, pp. 241, 305—9; XV., pp. 189, 273, 335; XVI, p. 147; the researches of Dr. Hultzsch, Prof Bühler, and Mr. Fleet). Balabhi was visited by Hiven Tsiang about 640 A.D. "On its destruction, in the middle of the eighth century, Anhulwarra became the metropolis, and this, as recorded, endured until the fourteenth, when the title of Bal-ca-rae became extinct." (Tod's *Travels in Western India*, p. 214.)

Ptolemy mentions, VII, 1. 83 'Ιππόκουρα, βασίλειον Βαλεόκούρου,' for which Willberg in his edition of Ptolemy substitutes Βαλερκούρου. This is the passage to which Colonel Tod has referred above in his *Travels* on p. 149, and which is mentioned also in his *Annals*, vol. I, p. 213. Chr. Lassen speaks in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 179, 185, and 186 of this passage, and places this Hippokura in the south: "Die Stadt muss in der Nähe des "jetzigen Mulkher gelegen haben . . Nur so viel lässt sich, ohne Besorgniss zu "irren, behaupten, dass dem *Siripolemios* die nördlichern, dem Baleokuros "die südlichern Gebiete unterworfen waren." I conjecture that the word *Balla* is contained in Baleokūrū as well as in Balerkūrū, and if the latter is accepted as a reading, the *r* must indicate the title of Rāja or Rao.

About Balabhi consult "Notes on the Ancient City of Balabhipurā," by Mr. B. A. R. Nicholson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 146–163. Read also the articles on this subject by the above mentioned scholars, and those of the late Mr. J. Fergusson, and Professor R. Gopal Bhandarkar, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XI,

separate tribe distinguished from the *Kandaloi*, both cannot be merged into one, nor can *Phyllītai* be taken as a Greek word, for Ptolemy does not use Greek expressions instead of, or among other, Indian proper names without tendering an explanation for such an unusual proceeding. *Phyllītai*, moreover, does not occur in Greek in the sense suggested by Sir A. Cunningham.

The passage in Ptolemy has no connection whatever with the Śabaras.[70]

XII, XIV, XV and XVI. Professor Bühler especially has by his publication and translation of a considerable number of Balabhī grants considerably contributed to the elucidation of this hitherto dark passage in Indian history.

Compare also Sir Alexander Cunningham's remarks in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 33–35: "We know also that both the Balas and the Kathi of the present day pay special adoration to the sun, which was the chief deity of Multan, from the earliest times down to the reign of Aurangzib, by whose orders the idol is said to have been destroyed. It seems probable therefore that the *Bâlas* may be the same tribe as the *Malli* or *Malii* of Alexander's historians, as the interchange of the letters *b* and *m*, which is of frequent occurrence in most languages, was very common in the Macedonian dialect." Compare about *Multan*, vol. V, pp. 114–136 of the *Archæological Survey of India*; and about the golden statue of the Sun, H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 11, 23, 27, 35, 82, 205 and 469.

The remark about the Macedonian dialect is misleading, as the Greek historians mention the Malloi, and as the change of *m* into *b* is in this instance of Indian origin.

[70] The *Parāśarapaddhati* mentions the Bhīls, Pulindas, Pullas, Mallas and others in the following lines:

> Pulinda-Mōda-Bhillaśca Pullō Mallaśca Dhāvakaḥ,
> Kundakārō Ḍōkhalō vā Mṛtapō Hastipas tathā;
> Ētē vai Tīvarājjātaḥ kanyāyām Brāhmaṇasya ca.

See Ptolemy, VII, 1, 66; "Περὶ δὲ τὸν Ναναγούναν Φυλλῖται καὶ Βηττιγοί, ἐν οἷς Κάνδαλοι μὲν παρὰ τοὺς Φυλλίτας καὶ τὸν ποταμόν." See Sir A. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 151: "In his "(Ptolemy's) day the large district at the head of the *Nanaguna*, or Tapti "River, was occupied by the *Kondali* or *Gondali*, a name which has been "generally identified with that of the Gonds. But their country is described "as *pars Phullitarum*, the *Phullitae* themselves being placed more to the "north. I take this name to be a pure Greek one, φυλλεῖται, descriptive "of the 'leaf-clad' aborigines. Varāha Mihira notices the *Parna-Śabaras*, "or 'leaf-clad Sauras'; and we know that the Juangs of the present day "still preserve this primitive costume. I believe, therefore, that there may "have been *Parna Gaudas*, or 'leaf-clad Gonds,' in the time of Ptolemy, "and that these are the people intended by his Phullitae-Gondali."

The Mārs of Ajmere resemble the Bhīls, and these again are not dissimilar to the Parheyas and Khonds. The Bhīls

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This opinion does not appear to coincide with that expressed by Sir A. Cunningham in vol. XXI, p. 93: "Still further to the south Ptolemy places "the *Phullitae* and the *Kondali*, whose country is described as *Pars Phulli-* "*tarum*. Phullitae I take to be a Greek name descriptive of the *Parṇa* "*Savaras*, or 'leaf-clad Savaras,' one of the most powerful of the aboriginal "races in the early centuries of the Christian era. Their only town was "*Agara*, which may perhaps be identified with Sāgar." In H.T. Colebrooke's edition of *Amarakōśa*, Serampore, 1825, p. 252, note ‡, we read: *śavaraḥ* or *patraśavaraḥ*, wearing feathers (a peacock's tail, &c.). A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps' French edition contains on p. 233 the same remark. In Böthlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, vol. IV, p. 417, stands *patraśavara*, "ein mit Federn sich schmückender Śavara." *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 10, mentions the *Purikadaśārṇāḥ* with *saha nagnaparṇaśabaraiḥ;* and Böthlingk calls *ibidem*, p. 574 the *Parṇaśavara*, von Blättern lebende Śavara, *i.e.*, Śavaras, who live on leaves; the term occurs also in Mārkandēya Purāṇa. Some take Parṇa as the name of a people; *e.g.*, Mr. N. Chidambaram Iyer, who translates this passage: *Nagna, Parna and Sabara.* It is possible that in this place three different tribes are enumerated, the *Nagna* (naked), the *Parṇa* and the Śabara: for if two tribes, the *Nagna-śabara* and *Parṇa-śabara*, *i.e.*, the "naked Śabara" and the "leaf-Śabara," are only mentioned, in order to prevent any doubt on this subject, any other mode of expression would have been preferable to the use of the compound in the Instrumental Plural, *i.e.*, to *nagnaparṇaśabaraiḥ*. I ought also not omit to mention that the *Śabarāḥ* occur ten times in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, but only once in the quoted place in connection with either *nagna* or *parṇa*. To these remarks I join General Sir A. Cunningham's comments as contained in his 17th vol. pp. 127, 128: "I think it probable that Colebrooke's reading of *Patra Śavaras* is "erroneous, as Varāha Mihira gives the name of *Parṇa Śavara*, or leaf-clad "Śavaras. Varāha places in the south-east quarter, in the territory of the "aborigines, the Purikas, the Dasāmas, the "*naked Śabaras*, and the *Parṇa* "*Śabaras*," and in the south the *Sauris* and *Kiṇṇas*. The commentator, "however, takes these two names as one, or *Sauri-Kiṇṇas*, who are probably "the people of Hwen Tsang's *Kirna-Suvarna*. Professor Kern thinks that "the Parṇa Śavaras are 'manifestly the Phyllitae of Ptolemy,' and he ex- "plains the name as 'feeding upon leaves.' But, as we know that the Juāngs, "a cognate race, still wear leaves, it seems to me more probable that the "term means 'leaf-clad.' In other places Varāha speaks of the '*Śavara* "savages,'" (IX, 15), the 'savage Śabaras and Pulindas' (IX, 29), and "of various tribes of *Śabara* savages (XXXII, 15). This last notice must "refer to more than the two tribes of *Nagna* Śabaras, or 'Naked Śavaras, "and *Parna Śavaras*, or 'Leaf-clad.' Both Amara and Varāha date about "A.D. 550."

To my previous remarks, I only add that the term φυλλῖται, as used by Ptolemy, cannot apply to the Śabaras, who are mentioned by him VII, 1, 80 near the Ganges; that a word φυλλεῖται does, I believe, not occur in Greek, though φυλλίτης (*m*) and φυλλῖτις (*f*) are used in the sense of φύλλινος, made of leaves; that the *Phyllitae* are distinguished by Ptolemy from the *Kandaloi*

being mostly mountaineers, are called in Kanarese *Koracaru* or *Kuruciyar*, and a Bhīl woman or *Koravañji* is known in Sanskrit as *Bhillā strī* or *Pārvatēyī*.[71] Koravañji is also the name of a girl whom Arjuna is said to have married when he stayed in the *Raivataka* forest.[72]

Cairns, cromlechs and stone platforms testify on the tops of hills to the presence of the Bhīls. Clay horses are, as in Southern India, dedicated to the gods. If images of horses are deposited near or on the tops of hills, the souls of the dead are supposed to shorten their journey to heaven by using them.

Though of a wild and unmanageable disposition and much addicted to thieving, the Bhīls can, when they have once been won by kind and just treatment, be easily turned into useful and trustworthy servants, soldiers, and land labourers. Some of their villages show superior cultivation. In Nimār and elsewhere they fill the post of hereditary

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and that both cannot be regarded as one nation "*Phyllitae-Gondali*" (IX, p. 151) or as "*leaf-clad Savaras*" (XXI, p. 93); that the country of the *Kondali* is not by Ptolemy described as *Pars Phullitarum*; and that the Śabaras are in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, IX, 15, 29, and XXXII, 15, not respectively called "*Śavara* savages," "savage Sabaras and Pulindas," and of "various tribes of Śabara savages," for we find there in the text *āvikāñchabaraśūdrān* (IX, 15), *śabarapulindapradhvaṁsakaro* (IX, 29) and *Taṅgaṇa-Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-Draviḍāḥ Śabarāśca naikavidhāḥ*, the Śabaras mentioned, but nowhere as Śabara savages. The *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* mentions the different dialects, by whom they should be spoken, and indicates that the language of the Abhīras and Śabaras should be used by those who gain their living by wood and leaves; *i.e.*, most probably by wood-cutting and leaf-gathering (Ābhīrī Śāvarī cāpi kāṣṭhapatrōpajīviṣu). We meet here the Śabaras in connection with *patra*.

Bishop Caldwell advocates in his *Comparative Grammar* the derivation of *Bhīl* from bil, arrow, as he says on p. 464: "*Bhillas*, probably *Billas*, from the Dravidian *vil, bil*, a bow, bowmen." The Bettigoi are also called Bittoi, Bittioi, and Bittigoi. Compare Lassen, vol. I, p. 113 (88), and Sherring, vol. II, p. 128-9, 284, 291-300, 326; III, 81-84.

[71] See Dalton, pp. 264, 284, 430 and 439. Compare also "An Account of the Maiwār Bhils," by Mr. T. H. Hendley, *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLIV, pp. 347-388.

[72] The marriage is mentioned in a Kanarese ballad. A commentary of the Bhāratacampū goes also by the name of *Koravarāmīyam*.

watchmen, as the Mhārs and Holeyas do in other parts of India.

The chiefs of the Bhīls are known as *Bhillālas*. Some Bhīl chiefs have assumed the title of *Nāyak* or Naick, as the Pallis and Mahārs have done. The founder of the Yādava Dynasty of *Dēvagiri* bore the name of *Bhillama*, which word I have previously explained. This Bhillama is also called Bhillamanṛpa, and Balanṛpa, and Bellam.

Colonel Tod names *Bulla* as the progenitor of the Bhīls.[73]

The Pulindas.

Not only in their name but also in their habits and customs do the Pallar, Pulayar and their kindred tribes

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[73] See Mr. T. H. Hendley's *Account of the Maiwār Bhils*, vol. 44, p. 347, ff.: "In the hilly tracts, the erection of cairns, usually on hill tops; the adoption of Shiva and his consort as symbols of the powers of terror and darkness; the construction of stone platforms on which stand blocks smeared with red paint; the sacrifice of animals and tradition of human oblations; the use of effigies of the horse are apparently relics of their ancient faith. Piles of loose stones, . . or mere platforms, are erected on the summits of high hills, . . on these are arranged a large number of stone or burnt clay images of the horse. I have seen a hollow cairn on the verge of a steep crag near Khairwaṛa, four feet in diameter and as many deep, filled with these images, each of which was about four inches in length . . The common explanation of the construction of cairns and horses is as follows:—Heaven is supposed to be but a short distance from earth, but the souls of the dead have to reach it by a very painful and weary journey, which can be avoided to some extent during life by ascending high hills, and there depositing images of the horse—which in addition to reminding the gods of the work already accomplished, serve as chargers upon which the soul may ride a stage to bliss. . . The Bhīl is an excellent wood-man, knows the shortest cuts over the hills; can walk the roughest paths and climb the steepest crags without slipping or feeling distressed. . . Though robbers, and timorous, owing to ages of ill-treatment, the men are brave when trusted, and very faithful; they have been looked upon by the Rājpūts as wild beasts to be hunted down as vermin, and are now only beginning to feel themselves men. . History proves them always to have been faithful to their nominal Rājpūt sovereigns, especially in their adversity. The Bhīl is a merry soul loving a jest." About the Bhīls read the account of Mr. W. I. Sinclair in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 336–338.

Colonel Tod mentions *Bulla* on the first table of his *Annals*. In the IV Appendix to the same volume on p. 802 *Pulinda-Dēvī* is explained as the goddess of the Bhīl tribe.

With respect to the Naick title in use among the Bhīls, see Dr. Wilson's

resemble the ancient *Pulindas*, who lived in olden times in various districts all over India.

In the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa the Pulindas, together with the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras,[74] and Mūtibas, are declared to be the offspring of the cursed elder sons of Viśvāmitra, while, according to another tradition, they were descended from the dark-skinned, flat-nosed, and dwarfish Niṣāda, who had been produced by rubbing the thigh of the corpse of the impious king Vēna. The Pulindas are frequently mentioned in the classical language of India as well as in those of Europe. The Rāmāyaṇa fixes their abode in different parts of Northern and Southern India. They are found on the banks of the Indus, and even in Ceylon;[75] in Central India they occupied extensive tracts and dwelt among the Bhīls, Śabaras, and Gonds in such a manner that the one are often mistaken for the other. The Mahābhārata, Viṣṇu-, Bhāgavata-, Padma-, and other Purāṇas, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and various works contain repeated allusions to them, and Ptolemy introduces them by the name of *Pulindai agriophagoi*,[76] or

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Indian Caste, vol. I, p. 99: "The word *Nāk*, the contraction of *Nāyak*, is the common epithet (of respect) used by the lowly Mahārs of the Marāṭhā country. From the abundance of *Nāks* connected with the Bhills of the Bāriā jungles, east of Baroda, they are called *Nākaḍas*." Compare also Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 299: "The territories of Baria and Chota Oodepoor, in Rewa Kanta, were infested by a class of Bheels, known as Naikras, of peculiarly savage and predatory habits." Consult also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 208, on Nākara; Nayak; Nayko.

[74] I quote here the derivation of the word *Śabara* proposed by General Sir Alex. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 113: "The origin of the name of *Savara* must be sought for outside the "language of the Aryas. In Sanskrit *Savara* simply means a 'corpse.' "From Herodotus, however, we learn that the Scythian word for an 'axe' "was *Sagaris*; and as *g* and *v* are interchangeable letters, *Savar* is the same "word as *Sagar*. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to infer that the "tribes, who were so called, took their name from their habit of carrying "axes. Now it is one of the striking peculiarities of the Savaras that they "are rarely seen without an axe in their hands."

[75] *See* Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II, p. 101, 469.

[76] Πουλίνδαι ἀγριοφάγοι; Ptol., VII, 1, 64.

raw flesh and wild fruits eating Pulindas, as living north of the present Barok.

On Pulaha, Pulastya, Pulōman, &c.

The previously mentioned names of *Pulaha*, *Pulastya*, *Pulōman*, *&c.*, bear in their first two syllables *Pula* a strange resemblance to the name of the *Pulayar* and *Pulindas*. Sanskrit grammarians generally connect the names of these Saints with the root *pul*, to be great, and the word *Pulastya* is also derived from *pulas*, standing for *puras*. These derivations, however, appear too artificial.[77]

Pulastya is said to be the father of *Agastya* and *Viśravas*. Viśravas had four sons, *Kubēra* by Iḍaviḍā (or Ilavilā) and *Rāvaṇa*, *Kumbhakarṇa*, and *Vibhīṣaṇa* by Kēśinī. The saintly civiliser of Southern India, Agastya, is thus, as previously noticed, very closely indeed related to the chief of the hated Rākṣasas, being in fact the uncle of Rāvaṇa, the god-despising king of Laṅkā. While Rāvaṇa conquered India and reduced the gods to abject subjection, from which they were only rescued by Viṣṇu appearing as Bālarāma, his uncle Agastya waged war with the demons and advised Rāma how to subdue the Rākṣasas. Similar family discords assisted Rāma in his warfare against Rāvaṇa and Bāli, whose respective brothers Vibhīṣaṇa and Sugrīva joined Rāma.

While Rāvaṇa is regarded with horror by the Brahmans, *Rāvaṇabhēṭ*, a Vedic work on *Phonetics*, is ascribed to this Rākṣasa. His memory is still cherished by the Jains.

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[77] Compare the remarks of the Rev. F. Kittel on the root *pulai*, *pule*, *pole* and on *Pulaha* and *Pulastya* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII (1879), pp. 50, 51. Though I arrived at my conclusions previously to my reading Mr. Kittel's suggestive article, I admit his priority in this respect and gladly quote his opinion: "The *Pallava* . . and the *Pullavaka*, a libertine, a gallant, "I do not hesitate to connect with *Poleya*; and who knows whether the "ancient Pallava dynasty was not a dynasty of certain *Poleyas* when still a "po[illegible] tribe."

It is also curious that Rāvaṇa is esteemed and acknowledged by pious Paṇḍits as a learned man, and is supposed to have been the author of a Telugu Grammar.[78]

Though the Rākṣasas are described in the Rāmāyaṇa and elsewhere as horrible monsters both physically and morally, it appears that the condition of being a Rākṣasa depended more upon the sins committed by an individual or by his progenitors than upon the accident of birth. If this be admitted, the physical monstrosities ascribed to the Rākṣasas must be regarded as the exaggerated creations of a morbid and hostile imagination.

Even the Rāmāyaṇa extols the beauty and grandeur of Laṅkā, its architectural splendour, and the efficiency of its administration. This latter was so excellent, that no thief dared to pick up any valuable thing lost in its streets. The enemies of Rāma could hardly, therefore, have been so rude and uncivilised as they are generally represented.

The ancient historical capital of Ceylon went by the name of Pulastinagara.[79] If Rāvaṇa is regarded as the king of Laṅkā, and perhaps also as the master of Southern India, and if the present Pulayar are admitted to be representatives of the aborigines, the startling similarity of the names *Pulastya* and *Pulayan* is at once explained.

The relationship between the Paulastya Agastya and the Paulastya Rāvaṇa opens at all events a new and wide perspective. It thus appears that the mind-born sons of Brahma should be taken as the progenitors of all the different races of India, and that, as all men emanate from one common source, no vital difference is acknowledged to exist between

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[78] Compare the Āndhra Kaumudī in which the *Rāvaṇīya*, the Telugu Grammar ascribed to Ravaṇa, is repeatedly mentioned.

[79] Megasthenes calls the Singhalese *Palaiogonoi* and the *Periplus maris Erythræi* calls Ceylon *Palaesimundu*. See Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I, p. 240 (2nd edition); compare also Mr. T.W. Rhys Davids in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (1873), p. 286, on Pulastipura.

them at first. The degraded condition into which some sank was, therefore, due to subsequent events.

The word *Pula* must be regarded as a corruption of *Palla*. This change from *a* to *u* is easily accounted for. Not only is the letter *a* changed into *u*, as in the Sanskrit *pala* which in Tamil becomes *pulai*, but the vowel *a* is often, especially in the North India, pronounced as *u*.

It is even possible that the names of the demon *Ilvala*, who was destroyed by Agastya, and of his son *Balvala* contain another reference to the original Pallas. At all events the similarity of the names of *Pulaha*, *Pulastya*, *Pulōman*, &c., with that of the Pulayar, as well as the connection which the near relationship between the Sage Agastya and the Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa suggests as existing between the Brahmanical civiliser of Southern India and the representative ruler of the aborigines, should command in future researches the attention of the scholar.

CHAPTER VI.

On the Pallis, Agnikulas, Pāndyas, Vellālar, &c.

The Agnikulas.

Another portion of the aboriginal South-Indian population is represented by the *Pallis*. The Pallis form at this moment on the whole a highly respectable class, living partly as agriculturists in the country and partly as citizens in towns. They belong to the caste of the *Vanniyar* (வன்னியர்).[80] The word Vanniyan is generally derived from the Sanskrit

[80] This caste includes also the Anuppar, Bailagar, Dēvadigar, Kallar, Maravar, Māsadikar, Bantar, Muppar, Nattambādis, Padaiyāccis, Parivārams, Sudras, Uppiliyar, Udayar and Vanniyar. According to the last Census Report the Pallis number 1,300,733 souls, of whom 1,295,049 live in the Madras Presidency, which number is only exceeded by the Shanar with 2,028,546, of whom 1,478,660 dwell also in Madras, by the Vellālar with 1,683,100, and by the Pariahs with 3,223,938 persons, and the whole of the other unclassified population consisting of 3,934,990 individuals. The last two figures refer to the Madras Presidency alone.

Vahni, fire. *Agni*, the god of fire, is connected with the regal office, as kings hold in their hands the firewheel or *Āgnēyacakra*, and the Vanniyar urge in support of their name the regal descent they claim, for they contend that the Pāṇḍya kings belonged to their race. In the north of India four races—the *Cauhān*, *Cālukya* (Sōlaṅki), *Pramāra*, and *Parihāra*—similarly claim to originate from Agni, and are called *Agnikulas*.

The existence of these Fire-races, *Agnikula* or *Vahnikula* (Vanniyan), in North and South India is a remarkable fact. No one can refuse to a seion of a Non-Aryan warrior tribe the title of *Rājaputra*, but in so doing we establish at once Aryan and Non-Aryan Rājaputras or Rājputs. The *Vanniyan* of South India may be accepted as a representative of the Non-Aryan Rājput element. Yet, if we thus admit a Turanian element among the Rājputs, the question arises, how far does it extend? The modern Rājputs of Northern India are in most cases the offspring of mixed parentage, for even Aryan warriors of pure extraction did not scorn in bye-gone times to take as wives by peaceful or violent means the alien daughters of the soil.[81]

The legend goes that after Paraśurāma had swept the Kṣatriya race from the surface of the earth, ignorance and infidelity began to spread again in the land, and the Brahmans were prevented by impious races—Asuras, Daityas, and Dānavas—from fulfilling their sacred rites. *Vasiṣṭha*, or according to others his great rival *Viśvāmitra*, took compassion on the oppressed, and with Indra, Brahma, Śiva, Viṣṇu and the other gods repaired to the Agnikuṇḍa, *i.e.*, the hollow which contained the consecrated fire, on Mount *Abu*, the celebrated peak of Rājasthan. There the hermits prayed and purified the fire fountain with the sacred water of the Ganges. *Indra* first formed a figure of grass and sprinkling on

[81] Compare pp. 45 and 46 on the genealogies of the Rajputs.

it the water of life, cried: "*Mār*, *Mār*" "Slay, Slay," and the *Paramāra*, the killer of enemies, appeared. Abu Dhar and Ujjain were assigned to him as his territory. *Brahma* instilled his essence into the second image, and throwing it into the pit, *Caluk* or Sōlaṅki appeared with a sword in one hand, the Vēda in the other, and a noose round his neck. He received *Anhalpur*. *Śiva* formed the third figure, and Parihāra rose as an ill-favored black figure armed with a bow. He stumbled and was placed as a guardian at the temple gates. Nine places of the desert, *Marusthalam*, were assigned to him. *Viṣṇu* formed Caturbhuja Cauhān, who appeared like him *four-armed*, in each arm carrying a peculiar weapon. He received *Macāvati Nagarī*. These were the ancestors of the *Agnikulas* who destroyed the *demon races*, and of all the thirty-six royal races the four Agnikulas rank highest, according to "*Chand*, the great bard of the Chohans." [82] This creation "is dated so far back as the opening of the second "age of the Hindus" (Tod, *ibidem*, p. 442). Cauhan chro-

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[82] See for this account Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II, pp. 440, ff. *Viśvāmitra* is here mentioned as the presiding priest, while in the first volume, p. 95, *Vasiṣtha* fills this place: "From the fire-fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prithiha-dwara (portal or door (*dwar*) of the earth; contracted to Prithihara and Purihara). A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*chaloo*) of the hand was called Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Pramara (the first striker). He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail. Again Vasistha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he called the gods to aid: and as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose, lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (*chatooranga*), whence his name Chohan (*chatoor* or *cha*, 'four'; *Anga*, body')." About *Canhān*, see Elliot's *Sup. Glossary*, vol. I, p. 63, ff.

The discrepancies between these two legends are considerable, not only so far as the presiding priests are concerned, but also with respect to the order of creation, and because in the description given in the text the gods themselves take part in the creation. *Caluka* or *culuka* signifies a hollowed hand to hold water. Colonel Tod assigns (II, p. 441), as above stated, the *nonāngul Marusthali*, or 'nine habitations of the desert' to Parihāra, while he had previously (vol. I, p. 91) allotted the *No-kote Maroosthulli* to Pramara.

nicles mention *Aja* as the founder of *Ajmere*, the mountain of Aja. Tradition connects Candragupta with the *Mōri* branch of the Pramāras. *Ujjayinī*, the capital of Vikramāditya, is assigned to them, and *Bhōja Rāja*, at whose court the *Nine Gems* are said to have flourished, belonged to the Pramāra tribe.

It is not my purpose to discuss here the fortunes of these celebrated clans; they are only of interest in this inquiry in so far as a connection might be established between the Agnikula of the North and the Vanniyar of the South.

Lassen regards the derivation of the name *Pramāra* from *Paramāra* in the sense of *killer of enemies* as suspicious and ascribes it to a later period.[83] Colonel Tod says: "that "these races, the sons of Agni, were but regenerated, and "converted by the Brahmins to fight their battles, the "clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will dis- "close, and . . warrants our asserting the Agniculas to be "of this same race, which invaded India about two centuries "before Christ."—(Vol. I, p. 90.) No matter whether Colonel Tod's reasoning and conclusion are right or wrong, one can agree with him so far as the Non-Aryan origin of the Agnikulas is concerned.

As has previously been stated, mention is made by Ptolemy, VII, 1, 70, of the Pōruaroi (*Πωρούαροι*), a name which Lassen thinks is derived from Pramāra.[84] I believe that Lassen is mistaken on this point. I prefer to explain the *m* as a modification of an original *v*, as, *e.g.*, in *Vellama* for Pallava, and to suggest *Paravāra* as the original form of Paramāra.

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[83] See Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, III, p. 572: "Da sein Name sonst *Prāmāra* lautet, must jene Erklärung des Namens als eine willkührliche Dichtung gelten."

[84] See Lassen, *ibidem*, III, p. 150: "Von den Porvaroi habe ich schon früher bemerkt, dass ihr Name höchst wahrscheinlich aus dem bekannten, sich *Prāmāra* nennenden Geschlechte der Rājaputra enstellt ist, welcher in der Volkssprache Punvar lautet und in dieser Form weiter von Prāmara entfernt ist, als Porvara."

I have already connected the Paravārī of the Marātha country with the Pōruaroi of Ptolemy, and eventually with the Pariahs of Southern India. Others identify the Pōruaroi with the Parihāras. Whichever derivation is right, we cannot be far wrong, if we regard the connection between the *Pōruaroi* and the Paravar and Pariahs as established, mainly in consequence of the identity between the Marāthi Paravārī and the Mahārs.[85]

One of the 15 sub-divisions of the South-Indian Vanniyar is called *Parivāram*, which name, if not of Sanskrit origin, may likewise be considered as a connecting link between the northern and southern Paravārī.

Under these circumstances the terms *Pramāra* and *Parihāra* can be traced to an ancient Dravidian source and associated with the Pāradas and similar names. Dr. Fr. Buchanan has, as I have quoted, proposed to connect the Parihāras with the Bhārs.

No doubt most of the Rājputs are easily distinguishable from other Hindus by their proud bearing, fine figure and lighter complexion, but these peculiarities do not necessarily point to an Aryan origin, for such varieties in outward appearance are found in all large nations which contain different classes and ranks. The Turcomans of Western Asia, the Osmanli Turks and the Magyars of Hungary, who are not Aryans, count among the finest races. If the origin of the Agnikulas throughout India can be eventually proved as Non-Aryan, a very important historical fact will

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[85] *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 5. "The *Poruāri*, who are "very probably the same people as the Parihārs;" *ibidem*, vol. XXI, p. 93: "To the south of the Bolingae, Ptolemy places the *Poruari* with their three "towns, named *Bridama*, *Tholobana*, and *Malaita*. The people I take to be "the Parihār Rājputs, who have occupied this part of the country from a "very early date."—Mr. McCrindle says in his *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 164: "Pōrouaroi (*Pōrvaroi*):—This is the famous race of the Pauravas, which, after the time of Alexander, was all predominant in Rajasthāna under the name of the Pramāras."

have been ascertained. New researches have shown that the Aryan population in India is very limited in numbers, and that even admitting all Brahmans to be of pure Aryan origin, this highest caste counts according to the last census only 13,693,439 members against a grand total of 252,541,210.[86]

On the Pallis.

A feeling of superiority has of late re-asserted itself among the Pallis. The Madras Census Report of 1871 states: "The *Vunnias* or *Pullies* are the great agricultural laboring "class of the southern districts. Before the British occu- "pation of the country, they were slaves to the Vellalar "and Brahman cultivators; but a large number of them "are now cultivators on their own account, or else work the "lands of the higher castes, on a system of sharing half "the net produce with the proprietor."[87] With the return

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[86] See *Madras Census Report* of 1881, vol. I, pp. 103–105. "It will also be "unnecessary here to go over the old discussion as to how far the caste system "of Southern India is of Aryan origin. It may be safely accepted that the "mass of the people are not Aryan; that indeed none of them are Aryan, "except the Brâhmans, probably not all of these, for there are several classes "or sub-divisions of Brâhmans of more or less hazy origin. All the rest of "the so-called Hindus may, if they please, call themselves Shûdras, but they "are in fact a Dravidian or Turanian or Scythian people, who have adopted "in a very highly-developed form, the Aryan caste system, whose germs are "found in the four caste system of Menu . . . Of late years, castes have been "so infinitely multiplied that, even if there were any recognised principle of "precedence, the *nuances* of rank would be so slight, that the places of the "several castes could not be distinguished. But there is no such principle. "Except the members of the admittedly degraded and depressed castes, each "Shûdra thinks, or professes to think, his caste better than his neighbour's. "The Shânar claims to be Rajput. The Kammala and Pattnûl growl that, if "they had their rights, they would be recognised as Brâhmans. But in this "matter, as in the matter of occupation, modern innovation has had its effect. "Wealth means social pre-eminence in the India of 1881, nearly as much as "it does in England. A Shûdra millionaire cannot be made a Brâhman, but "he can purchase the services of Brâhmans. A Brâhman cannot eat with "him; but this is the Brâhman's loss, for the millionaire's rice is fair and "his ghee unexceptionable."

[87] The *Madras Census Report*, vol. I, p. 157, continues: "Others are simply labourers, and many of them, by taking advances from their employers, are still practically serfs of the soil, and unable to extricate

of self-esteem and independence the Pallis have not been backward in denying such a statement as the one just made concerning their alleged condition of serfdom, and in urging their claims. They have thus lately presented to Government a petition in order to obtain certain concessions at Kāñcīpuram, Śrīraṅgam and Madras. They claim to be the descendants of Maṇimahāmuni and, as what formerly belonged to them, demand the Dharmakartaship of the Ēkāmbarēśvarasvāmi-kōvil in Kāñcīpuram, and the censorship over the nine classes of people there, including in it even the chiefs of the Iṭaṅkai and Valaṅkai, *i.e.*, of the left and right hand people. The *Jātisaṅgrahasāra* and the *Jātibhēdanūl* contain much valuable information on this topic, though no critical acumen has been exercised in arranging and verifying the evidence.

It is very unfortunate that hardly any question of historical interest which concerns the various classes of the population of this country is considered with impartiality. Class interest and caste pride prevent unbiassed inquiries and even-balanced decisions. The relations of the various agri-

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themselves from the bondage of the landlord. In all respects, these people have the characteristics of aboriginal tribes. They are, as a rule, a very dark-skinned race, but good field laborers, excellent farm servants, and cultivators. They abound largely in the Tamil districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The *Vunnias*, like so many of the Śūdra castes in the south, are striving to prove that their position in the caste system is a wrong one. In 1833 they attempted, in Pondicherry, to get a legal decision that they were not of a low caste; but the administration refused to deal with the question, on the ground that the Hindu law did not refer to the *Vunnias* at all. There can be no doubt that when the aboriginal tribes ruled in South India, many *Vunnias* raised themselves to the position of *Polygars*, or independent chiefs. The term *Naick* is usually affixed to the names of the Vunnias, and the Naicks of Madura and Tinnevelly were great men not very long ago. There are about thirty sub-divisions of the *Pullies*, named chiefly after their different occupations, but they may all eat together and some intermarry." The Census of 1881, in vol. I, p. 104, says: "The Palli, once the Vellala's slave, is still working on the soil as a laborer and often as a proprietor. But the work of divorce between occupation and caste has not only begun, but has advanced, and is advancing."

cultural classes to one another are very strained, and the evidence which the one may supply with respect to the other should always be accepted with great caution. Thus the acrimonious dissensions which exist between the Pallis and Vellālar are a matter of deep regret, but they must be mentioned here to explain why certain statements concerning both cannot be admitted in an historical inquiry, as they are unsupported by facts and are tainted by prejudice.[88]

The investigation which I am now making is *sine ira et studio*, and I trust it will be accepted as such by those who come within its range.

The difference which at an early stage divided the Pallar from the Pallis was, I believe, that the former confined themselves to the country, *pālayam*, while the latter congregated mostly in villages and towns. These were named *palli* (பள்ளி) or *palli* (பள்ளி) in contradistinction to the country or *Pāḷaiyam* (பாளையம்) in Tamil and *pāḷemu* (పాళెము) in Telugu. The feudal chieftains were called after the country Poligars.[89] The bulk of the Pallas, who lived as agricultural

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[88] Compare "The Poyakharries *versus* Meerassidars, or the Revenue System of Madras," by A. Venkatachella Naicker, p. 9. Again, in the third place, Mr. Place states that the Pullees were servants of the Brahmins. Any thing more untrue could not be stated. The Pullees or Vunneers were not the servants of the Brahmins. They were formerly the ruling race of a very large portion of Southern India. The potentates, Sharen, Cholen, and Paundian were all Vunneers, and all the southern and western Poligars and Zemindars are, even at the present time, Vunneers; and on p. 12: In proof that the Pullees or Vunneers were the most powerful and most prevalent race in Southern India, there are the boundary stones which are marked with the Royal "wheel of mandate" an ensign of the royal descent of the Vunneers; also the inscriptions on the temples of Conjeeveram and in fact on the muntapums and other sacred shrines throughout the Chingleput district. Whilst the Vellalars had the mark of a trident on their boundary stones, and the boundary stones of the agraharums bore the impression of a short Brahmin with an umbrella.

Consult about the Śasanams concerning the Vanniyar *Jātisaṅgrahasāra*, pp. 272, 326, &c.

[89] *Pāḷaiyakkāran* in Tamil and *Pāḷegādu* in Telugu. For *Pāḷemu*, encampment, baronial village, occurs in Telugu also the word *Velamu*.

labourers in the country, were, like our rustics, peasants or boors, while the inhabitants of a village or small town (*paḷḷi*, *palli*, *palle*, &c.), assuming the same name as the place they inhabited, became gradually urbane and polite citizens.[90]

The Paḷḷis generally worship in temples dedicated to *Dharmarāja*. In these temples are found the images of Yudhiṣṭhira (or Dharmarāja) and of his four brothers Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadēva, of Draupadī, of Kṛṣṇa, and occasionally of Pōtarāja (also *Pōturāju* in Telugu and *Pōtappa* in Kanarese). The head of Irāvat, the son of Arjuna and Ulūpī, who, according to popular tradition, was killed on the day preceding the battle as an oblation to the battle-field, and whose head looked on the fight for eighteen days, is often exhibited on a pole during the festival. The Mahābhārata fixes the death of Irāvat on the eighth day of the battle. A Paḷḷi is, as a rule, the *pūjāri* or priest of the shrine. The above-mentioned *Pōtarāja* is a rustic god revered especially in the Telugu, Kaṇarese, and Marāthi districts, and his wives are known as Gaṅgamma, Pōlakamma or Pōlēramma (the goddess of small-pox), &c.

At the great annual festival in honor of Dharmarāja, or the local god or goddess, people walk over burning coals, in order to testify their purity of mind.

The worship of Dharmarāja is very popular; it is, perhaps, the most widely spread in this country. Over 500 Dharmarāja temples exist in South-Arcot alone. The village goddess is occasionally called Draupadī, and, even where she has a name of her own, she is often merely a substitute for the wife of the Pāṇḍavas. The popularity which the latter enjoy among the lower classes of the inhabitants throughout India is very significant, inasmuch as it is in opposition to *Rāma*, the favorite hero and divine represent-

[90] Compare the meaning of *nāgara* and *nāgaraka*, citizen, polite, clever, from *nagara*, town, in Sanskrit; with πολιτικός from πολίς in Greek; and *urbanus* from *urbs* in Latin.

ative among the Brahmans. It is also remarkable that Brahmans have nothing to do with these temples.

Some of the most celebrated remains in India are those found at the *Seven Pagodas* near Madras. Famous among these rock temples and rock sculptures of *Māmallapuram* or *Māvallipuram* are the Rathas or monolithic temples of the five Pāṇḍavas and of their wife Draupadī. Māmallapuram or Māvallipuram stands, I believe, for *Mahāmallapuram* or *Mahāpallipuram*, that is, the town of the great Mallas or Pallis, both designations being almost identical. And even if *Mahāvallipuram* is to be regarded as connected with the name of the great king *Bali*, he himself, as I have previously endeavoured to show on pp. 14 and 15, should be looked upon as the representative of the Mallas or Pallas, Pallis and Pallavas. If we now associate the cult of the Pāṇḍavas with these relics at Māmallapuram and consider that the inhabitants of this town, the Mallas, worshipped those heroes as do their descendants even to-day, and that the Pallis are the *pūjāris* of these deified persons at this moment, I believe that a relation has been sufficiently established between the Pāṇḍavas and the original inhabitants of this country.[91]

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[91] See in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 190 and 191, the article: "Walking through Fire," by Mr. H. J. Stokes, M.C.S. "The situation was on an extensive open plain before the village deity *Draupatī Amman's* temple. The pit lay east and west; the image of the goddess was placed at the west end, and it was towards it that the worshipper walked along the length of the pit from east to west." Virappa Vāndyān states:—"I was one of the "eight persons who carried the goddess Draupatī Amman to the place where "the fire-treading took place. The fire-pit was a trench about two poles "long by two strides broad. Six babūl trees were cut into faggots and "kindled. Those who trod on the fire were Nachchu, Pūjari of Periyān-"guḍi, Chidambaram; Pūjari of Angalamman temple at Achchutaman-"galam; Rāmasāmi Pillei, Stānika of Draupatī Amman of Periyanguḍi; "Saminādа Paḍeyāchi of the same place, his brother Subraya; Subba-"nayakkan of Valkei. . ." Nāgappa Malavarāyan states:—"I live in the next "street to the temple of Draupatī." . . Nachchu Paḍeyachi states:—"I am "Pūjari of this temple of Draupatī." The practice of fire-treading is "connected in some places with a legend of Draupadī . . ., the wife of the

In Chingleput and its neighbourhood the Pallis add to their name the title of *Nāyakar* or leader, which term is synonymous with the Telugu *Nāyaḍu* and the Malayālam *Nāyar*. Those in Tanjore and its neighbourhood prefer the Tamil title *Paḍaiyāṭci* (படையாட்சி),[92] army-leader, which has the same meaning as Nayakar, while others in Coimbatore, Salem, North and South-Arcot call themselves, like the neighbouring hill men, *Kauṇḍar* (கௌண்டர் or கவுண்டர்). I connect this word with the root *ko*, and derive it from *koṇḍa*, mountain, and if this etymology is right, it shows that these Pallis have preserved in their name some recollection of their original habitat.

Paṇḍavas."—I have mentioned the names of the worshippers, in order to prove that they are Pallis (Nāyakar) and Paḍaiyāccis.

Read also "The Village Feast," by Captain J.S.F. Mackenzie in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 6–9, and "Passing through Fire," by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, late M.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII., pp. 126–129: "When not done in discharge of vows made in time of sickness or disaster, "the fire-walking seemed to be performed (generally in March and June) in "most places in honour of Vīrabhadra, the portentous flame-clad progeny "of Śiva, who is especially feared as presiding over family discord and mis- "fortune, or else of Dharmarāja, the elder Pāṇḍava, to whom there are five "hundred temples in South Arkaṭ alone, and with whom and Draupadī the "ceremony has some particular association. In Ganjam and Maisūr it is per- "formed in honour of a village goddess, and everywhere seems connected "with aboriginal rites and Śiva-worship, Brāhmaṇs always disowning it." I myself witnessed this fire-treading in June 1885 in Coimbatore. With respect to the sun worship previously mentioned on p. 62 as peculiar to the Scythians, it should be remembered that Draupadī prayed twice to the sun god for assistance. Concerning the explanation of Mahāmallapura I may also add that I regard *Mallapura* as the original form of Mailapur in Madras. These names will be considered in the last part of this treatise.

[92] The higher castes are often anxious to enhance their superiority at the expense of their inferiors, whom they ridicule. To this tendency must be ascribed many expressions which reflect on the language used by Pariahs, Pallar, Pallis, and Paḍaiyāccis. The word Paḍaiyāci is derived from *paḍai* and *āṭci*, which originally signified *Army ruling*. Its more correct spelling is Paḍaiyāṭci, படையாட்சி.

The Rev. Mr. Löventhal of Vellore informs me that the hill-people near Vellore insist on being addressed as *Gauṇḍan* and *Gauṇḍal*, and that they feel insulted when called *Ayya* or *Amma*. He tells me also that many Pallis adopt now the title Mudaliyar. Occasionally the term Kauṇḍar is used by Pulayar and Caṇḍalas.

The few necessaries which in India suffice to sustain life, the simplicity of manners, and similarity of external wants create a great uniformity in the habits and mode of living among the population. In this respect there is less difference, perhaps, between the rich and the poor in India than elsewhere. The dwelling places are pretty much the same in villages as in towns, and architectural ambition displays itself mostly in the erection of the temples devoted to the gods, or the palaces occupied by the kings. Difference in population —irrespective of caste, religion, and occupation—forms, therefore, in India the most striking distinction between village and town. In these circumstances even speech does not, as a rule, distinguish between them, and in the Dravidian languages the same expressions *palli* (*palli*, *halli*, &c.) and *ūr* (*ūru*, &c.) are applied both to village and town.

Different meanings of the word Palli.

The word *Palli* has also various other meanings. In towns, and even in small villages, where people congregate in greater numbers, such buildings and institutions as temples and schools are more easily and more appropriately founded than in a lonely and sparsely populated country. These establishments are accordingly called after the place in which they are erected. The Buddhist and Jain missionaries were probably the first preachers and religious teachers who devoted themselves to the indigenous population and who succeeded in their efforts to win by their sympathy the affection of the masses. This may be the reason why a temple, more particularly if Buddhistic and Jaina, is called *palli*.

Everything connected with royalty has the term *palli* prefixed to it in Malayālam as *pallikōvilakam*, a royal palace, *pallimetta*, a royal bed, *pallivāl*, a royal sword, *pallivēṭṭa*, a royal chase, &c.[93] This expression is very peculiar indeed,

[93] In Tamil the word *palli* is at times also used in the sense of *royal*, thus *palliyaṟai*, like the Malayālam *palliyara*, denotes the royal bed-chamber,

and seems to prove that the recollection of the splendour and power of the ancient *Pallas* or *Paḷḷis* had not died out in the minds of the people when these words came into use.

The Buddhist missionaries, who propagated throughout India the precepts of their master, spoke and wrote a Prākritised form of Sanskrit. This became gradually the sacred language of the Buddhists, and from India it was, together with the Buddhistic faith, introduced into Ceylon. Though this idiom differed widely from the language which the Dravidian Pallas spoke in those days, in the same way as the priestly Latin differed much from the vernaculars of Northern Europe into which it spread with the progress of Christianity, yet, as the Buddhistic religion came to Ceylon from the country inhabited mostly by Pallas, or in whose towns and temples—*Paḷḷi* or *Pāḷi*—it had found a firm abode, the dialect in which the sacred books reached Ceylon was likewise called *Pāli* after them.

Explanation of the words Pāṇḍya, Vellāla, Ballāla, Bhillāla.

The Pallar and Paḷḷis claim, as has been previously pointed out, kinship with the kings who ruled over them, *i.e.*, with the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas. It has been proved that a philological connection can be established between the words *Palla*, *Palli* and *Pallava*, and no great difficulty will be experienced in extending it to the name of the Pāṇḍyas.

The *Pāṇḍyas* of Southern India have been linked by legends with the Pāṇḍavas of the North. According to the Harivaṁśa (XXXII, 123), *Pāṇḍya*, together with *Kēvala*, *Kōla*, and *Cōla*, was a descendant of the famous king *Duṣyanta*, the husband of Śakuntalā and father of Bharata. *Arjuna* meets and fights in his adventures for the Aśvamēdha with

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while *paḍukkaiyaṛai* is the common sleeping room. Compare also about *paḷḷi* in the sense of a royal title the *Jātisaṅgrahasāra*, p. 281.

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his son *Babhruvāhana*, the king of Maṇipura, which place I have identified with Madura.[94]

The legend of the king Vijaya of Laṅkā is likewise mysteriously and intimately connected with the Pāṇḍavas. He is reported to have wedded a daughter of the Pāṇḍava king of the southern Mathurā, and, as he had from her no offspring, to have invited his nephew from the Indian continent to become his successor. This nephew, *Pāṇḍuvaṁśadēva*, married, in his turn, the princess Bhadrakāñcanā, the daughter of *Pāṇḍu-Śākya* and grand-cousin of Buddha, who had drifted in a boat with her 32 lady companions to Laṅkā and arrived providentially just in time to marry the king.[95]

But there exist also other legends which do not mention this connection between the Pāṇḍavas of the North and the Pāṇḍyas in the South. Among these is one which ascribes the colonisation and civilisation to a northern *Vellalan* named *Madura Pāṇḍiyan*, who, on his pilgrimage to Rāmēśvara, observed the great fertility of the *Daṇḍaka* forest and determined to settle in it. He returned to his own town, came back to the South with his family and dependents, cleared the country and erected on the banks of the *Vaikai* river his capital, which he called after himself Madura. The neighbouring Maṟavar assisted him much in the cultivation of the country and foundation of his capital. *Madura Pāṇḍiyan* ruled according to this account 50 years after his arrival, and died 90 years old. He was succeeded by his son *Candrapāṇḍiyan*, who reigned 40 years. *Malayadvajapāṇḍiyan* and *Alakapāṇḍiyan* are mentioned as the next kings.[96]

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[94] See my monograph "On the Weapons of the Ancient Hindus," pp. 145-152.

[95] See Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. II, pp. 95-111.

[96] See "Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya," by Horace Hayman Wilson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of G. B. and I.*, vol. III, pp. 199-242, 1836, reprinted in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. VI, pp. 176-216, and H. H. Wilson's Supplementary Note in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, pp. 217-220. Compare also Rev. William Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Madras, 1835, in two volumes; and

Though some have proposed to derive the name *Pāṇḍya*

his *Observations on Professor Wilson's Historical Sketch* in the same volume of the *Madras Journal*, pp. 142-157. H. H. Wilson had said in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. III, p. 201, and in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, p. 177, that "an adventurer, named Pāndya, of the Velālar or "agricultural tribe, first established himself in that portion of the south to "which his name was afterwards assigned." See also Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections*, Introduction, p. 45, and *Tamul Books*, p. 203 (new edition).

The Rev. W. Taylor took exception to these statements in his *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, vol. II, pp. 73, 74, and its Appendix, pp. 35 and 39, and animadverted on Wilson's want of acquaintance with the Tamil language (p. 63), to which charges Wilson replied in his *Supplementary Note*. The Rev. W. Taylor admitted the error of indulging in strong language, but maintained (on p. 144) that: "*Vada désattilulla pāndiyan*. "*ākira vellāzhan* might have been still better and more accurately rendered "an ancient agriculturist in (or of) the north country," and (on p. 149) that "there is, however, throughout no mention of this person's proper name." In both these statements Taylor is not quite correct. *Akira* means here "called," for in the same manuscript occur repeatedly such phrases as *Irāmanākirairācā*, the king called Rāma, or *Sītaiyākira peṇcāti*, the wife called Sīta.

The Tamil manuscript in question is the *Pāṇṭiyamaṇṭalam Cōḷamaṇṭalam pūrvikarājācaritravoḷunku* in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library No. 241, in Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections*, Tamil Local History No. 4, and in W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, p. 88, No. 2322. On p. 4a the *pāṇḍiyan* is first mentioned as follows: அப்படியே வடதேசத்திலுள்ள பாண்டியனென்ற வெள்ளாளனிந்த ராமேசுரயாத்திரைக்குப்புறப் பட்டு வந்தான் (Appaṭiye vaṭatēcattil uḷḷa Pāṇṭiyan ākira Veḷḷāḷan inta Rāmēcurayāttiraikku puṟappaṭṭu vantān). The translation of which sentence is: "Thus having started came on a pilgrimage to Rāmēśvara a Veḷḷāḷan named Pāṇḍiya, who lived in the northern country." Again on p. 5 b: இப்படி .... யாசன் பாண்டியன் பேர் மதுரநாயக பாண்டியன் அவன் முதலுண்டு பண்ணின பட்டணத்துக்குத்தன் பேரைத்தா னே வைத்து மதுராபுரி யென்றும் மதுரைநகரென்றும் பேரிட்டு பினனு மநேகப் பட்டணங்களையுமுண்டு பண்ணினான் (Ippaṭi .. yaracan Pāṇṭiyan pēr Maturanāyaka Pāṇṭiyan avan mutal uṇṭu paṇṇina paṭṭaṇattukku tan pērai tāṉē vaittu Maturāpuri yeṉṟum Maturainakareṉṟum pēriṭṭu pinnum aṉēkappaṭṭaṇaṅkaḷaiyum uṇṭu paṇṇiṉāṉ); or in English: Thus this Pāṇḍiya king, called Maturapāṇḍiyan, having given to the town he founded first his own name, and having named it Maturāpuri or Maturainagar, established afterwards many towns." The founder of the Cōḷa kingdom, *Tāyamān Nalli*, is also called a Veḷḷāḷan, see p. 6 b. Compare Lassen's *Indische Alterth.*, vol. II, p. 108. Mr. J. H. Nelson remarks in his *Manual of Madura*, Part III, p. 44: "The story of the man of Oude may doubtless be found in certain Hindū writings, but I do not believe it is traditional in the country to which it relates. And the Pāndya kings of the lunar race are commonly believed to be of the Kshatriya, not of the Vellāla or any

directly from Pāṇḍu and some have ventured other explanations, I believe that none are generally accepted as correct.[97]

I do not flatter myself that I have solved the difficulty, but merely hazard a new conjecture. I suggest that the word *Pāṇḍi* (பாண்டி), which is specially applied to the ancient kingdom of Madura, and the term *Pāṇḍiyan* (பாண்டியன்), which denotes the king who ruled over it, the *Pandiōn*, *Παvδίων* of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 11, are contracted forms for *Paḷḷāṇḍi* and *Paḷḷāṇḍiyan*. The king of Madura, the Perumāl of the Pāṇḍiyas, was regarded as the most powerful king of Southern India, and as such he might well have been named after the people over whom he ruled. The word *Paḷḷāṇḍiyan*, the king of the Pallas, was contracted into Pāṇḍiyan as Tiruvaḷḷaṅkōḍu has become *Tiruvāṅkōḍu*, &c.[98] *Áṇḍi* (ஆண்டி) and *āṇḍavan* (ஆண்டவன்), ruler, come from

agricultural caste." Compare also Part II, p. 31. Already the Rev. W. Taylor has pointed out that Oude is not mentioned as Pāṇḍya's, but only as Rāma's home. Whatever is the right extraction of the Veḷḷaḷar, they as well as their Telugu relatives, the Velamas, regard themselves as Kṣatriyas. The Rev. J. F. Kearns in *The Tribes of South India*, Madras, 1860, alludes to the tradition that the Reddies of Tinnevelly derive their origin from Oude, for he says on p. 8: "There is, however, a circumstance connected with the Reddies which in some degree appears to impart an air of probability at least to the legend, namely, all the Reddies in the province style themselves *Oude* Reddies, and assert that Oude is the native country of their tribe."

[97] Compare Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. II, p. 102, and Bishop Caldwell's Introduction to his *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 16: "The Sanskrit Pāṇḍya is written in Tamil Pāṇḍiya, but the more completely Tamilised form Pāṇḍi is still more commonly used all over Southern India. I derive *Pāṇḍi* not from the Tamil and Malayāḷam *paṇḍu*, ancient, though that is a very tempting derivation, but—as native scholars always derive the word—from the Sanskrit *Pāṇḍu*, the name of the father of the Pāṇḍava brothers. This very form *Pāṇḍya*, in the sense of a descendant of Pāṇḍu, is mentioned, as I am informed by Professor Max Müller, by Kātyāyana, the immediate successor of Pāṇini."

[98] Compare *A History of Travancore*, by P. Shungoonny Menon, p. 2: "Thiruvancode instead of Sreevalumcode." *Tiruvidāṅkōḍu* is a wrong conjecture.

Not far from Tiruvaḷḷaṅkōḍu lies *Vaḷḷavaṅkōḍu*, both localities being intimately connected with each other in the history of Travancore. I have also strong reasons to suppose that the name of *Tiruvāṅgāḍu* near Tellicherry is the same as that of *Tiruvaḷaṅgāḍu* near Calicut. Both places have celebrated temples. That of the latter belongs to the Zamorin. I regard the usual

the Dravidian root *āḷ*, to rule. If we admit that names in common use are more subject to change than other words, the alteration from *āṇḍavan* to *āṇḍiyan* can be easily accounted for. Yet even this modification is not absolutely necessary, as *āṇḍiyan* can also be formed by adding the pronominal affix *an* to *āṇḍi*.[99]

The root *āḷ* is also used in the formation of other similar words, *e.g.*, in *Vāḷḷāḷa* (*Veḷḷāḷa*), *Ballāḷa*, *Bhillāḷa*, &c., and indicates a person of influence among or a lord of the Vallas, Ballas, and Bhillas, which names were originally identical with the name of the Pallas.

The *Veḷḷaḷan* is thus the territorial lord of the despised Paḷḷan, and though both were originally intimately connected with each other, the institution of caste seems to have parted them for good. The relation of the Paḷḷan to the Veḷḷāḷan was that of serf to the owner of the soil, like what existed in Russia, where both serf and master, belong to the same nation. The abbreviated form of Veḷḷāḷan is Veḷḷāḷ. It is dialectically changed in Kanarese into *Beḷḷāḷ* and is applied to the landowning agriculturist of Kanara. The Toda words *Pālāḷ*, the milkman or priest, and *Kāvilāḷ*, herdsman, are similarly formed. Veḷḷāḷan is also contracted into Veḷḷān.

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derivation of *vaḷa* in Tiruvaḷaṅgaḍu from the Sanskrit word *valaya*, bracelet, and the legend connected with this *valaya* as a later invention.

Some time ago advised by a friend I visited *Gāḍuvāñcēri*, a small station on the South-Indian Railway, between Pallavaram and Chingleput, in search of some old tombs. Nobody in Gūḍuvāñcēri was acquainted with these remains. I found them on the slope of a hill near the hamlet *Vallañcēri*, whence the old now deserted village Paḷḷañcēri was pointed out to me. I was further told that Gūḍuvāñcēri was formerly called Putuvāñcēri or New Vāñcēri. In this case Vāñcēri should be regarded as a contraction of Vaḷḷañcēri.

Sir A. Cunningham identifies in vol. IX, p. 56 of the *Arch. Surv. of India*, *Bāndogarh* with the *Balantipurgon* of Ptolemy; and this derivation is repeated in vol. XXI, p. 92: "Mr. Carlleyle also suggests that Ptolemy's "fort of Balantipurgon, which I have identified with Bando-garh, may have "derived its name from the Balands."

[99] See *note* 16 about Subrahmaṇya being called *Paḷani Āṇḍi* or *Paḷani Āṇḍavar*.

As the Vellālar are essentially agriculturists and live upon the produce which they derive from cultivation, agriculture is called in Tamil and in Malayālam *vellāṇmai* or *vellāyma*. The Tamil word *Vellāṇmai* is a compound of *Vellal* and *mai*, the affix indicating abstract nouns. It means Vellālar-ship or the occupation and position of a Vellālan or cultivator. It may perhaps be necessary to add that the terms *Vellālan* and *Vellāṇma* are hardly ever used in Malabar, except in Pālghāt, which, as a border district between the Tamil and Malayālam speaking population, contains many Tamil words. It is customary to derive the name of the *Vellālan* from *vellāṇmai*, *i.e.*, the name of the cultivator from the work of cultivation to which he is devoted, but I regard this explanation as erroneous. The Telugu representative of the Tamil *Vellālan* is the *Velama* (Vellama), and if *vellāṇmai*, agriculture, were derived from a common Dravidian root, a representative of this word should be found in all or most Dravidian languages. It is most probably not indigenous in Malayālam, nor does it exist in Telugu, where we find words like *kāpu* denote a cultivator and *sāgu* cultivation. The *Velama* is the baron, the *grand-seigneur*, in the Telugu country. Most of the Telugu Rājas belong to the Velama caste. The identity of Velama and Pallava has been already established by me. The *Vellālar* of Malabar are called *Nāyar*, which word means, as we have seen, *ruler*. This circumstance is very significant, as the term Vellālan, according to my explanation, designates also a ruler.[100]

[100] The derivation of *Vellāṇmai* is very uncertain. The Tamil pandits propose different explanations, a sure indication of their uncertainty. Some derive the word from *vēḷ*, benefit, and wish to write it accordingly *Vēḷāṇmai*; others prefer *Vellam*, abundance, &c. The Vellālar are cultivators. Cultivation is in India generally divided into *dry* cultivation, which is applied in higher levels and in places which depend entirely on the rainfall, and into *wet* cultivation, which is carried on by means of *irrigation* chiefly from tanks. These two kinds of cultivation are called in Tamil *puncey* (or *puñcai*) and *nancey* (ನಂಚೆ or *nañcey*), in Telugu *metta* and *pallam* from *pallam*, plain, and in Kanarese *beṭṭa* and *haḷḷa*. *Pul* and *nal* mean bad and good; *puñcey* is a sterile field for dry grains and *nañcey* a

The name of the Ballālas is well known by the dynasty which brought it into prominence, and to which I have alluded previously.

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rice field. The Telugu and Kanarese expressions denote high land and low land. The high land for want of irrigation produces generally poorer crops than the well-irrigated low land. *Vellam* in Tamil, *Velluva* in Telugu, and *Bolla* in Tulu denote as in the other Dravidian languages *flood* and *inundation*. No inundation can be without water, and in Malayalam *Vellam* seems to mean also water, but this appears not to be the case in Tamil and Telugu. Mr. Nelson has in his laborious *Manual of Madura* first proposed to derive *Vellāṇmai* from vellam and *āṇmai*. He says in Part II, p. 31: "The Tamil "mode of spelling the word Vellâlan is ⵡⵑⵍⵍⵑⵏ ; and as Vellânmei, "ⵡⵑⵍⵍⵑⵏⵎⵑⵢ; is the word commonly used to express the act of "cultivating (strictly, ruling or managing irrigation), it is but natural to "infer that Vellâlan means a cultivator or irrigator of rice fields, rather "than a man of a particular tribe or country." This derivation has been accepted by some authors, generally without giving Mr. Nelson credit for it; but it is not known to the Tamil pandits whom I have consulted, and is repudiated by them. Dr. Gundert, who gives in his *Malayālam and English Dictionary* *water* as a meaning of *vellam*, does not connect it with the word *vellāṇmai* which he places under *vellan*, a true man. *Vellāṇmai* is also in Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary* not derived from "*vellam* an inundation, a flood, a deluge, a strong current." It cannot be denied that it is grammatically possible to derive *vellāṇmai* from *vellam* and *āṇmai*, but as *vellāṇmai* in this sense denotes only wet cultivation or irrigation, and the Vellāḷan, as every agriculturist uses both dry and wet cultivation, this name would be inappropriate if applied to him. Curiously enough dry cultivation prevails, if I am not wrongly informed, in the wet districts on the West Coast of South India where, owing to the heaviness of the rain, no tank irrigation is necessary. The derivation from Paḷḷan and *āḷan* as the master of the Paḷḷar or agricultural labourers seems simpler and more preferable. My conjecture is supported by the Tamil and Malayalam term *Veḷḷāṭṭi*, a slave girl, a female servant. The meaning of this expression has not been explained so far as my knowledge goes, but is clear, if it is considered to denote a Palla woman, a woman of the servile class (ⵒⵑⵍⵍ + ⵜⵜⵉ). In this particular instance *āṭṭi* signifies woman in general, as *āḷ* does also occasionally mean servant or slave. *Āṭṭi* occurs in a similar, though more respectable, sense in *manaiyāṭṭi*, housewife, and *peṇṭāṭṭi*, wife. The feminine of *Veḷḷāḷan* is *Veḷḷāḷacci*. The truth of the saying *Usus tyrannus* manifests itself peculiarly in this case. I may add that even my derivation of Vellāṇmai contains the word *āṇmai* as formed from *āḷ* + *mai*.

The Purāṇa of *Tirukaḷukuṇṛam* near Chingleput, also known as *Pakṣitīrtham*, mentions 24 classes of Veḷḷāḷar. They are generally divided in three great sections in Gaṅgākulatar, Indrakulatar, and Maṇkulatar. Of the 63 Aḻvār 13 are Veḷḷāḷar. Mr. Nelson has in his Manual, II, pp. 27–37 collected a great deal of information about them. Compare also "Notes

The Bhillālas are the chiefs among the Bhillas or Bhīls, some of whom are regarded as the offspring of Rājput men and Bhīl women.[101]

The similar formation of all these words tends much to prove the correctness of my conjecture, and as according to my explanation the meaning of *Pāṇḍiyan* as *Palḷāṇḍiyan* is identical with that of *Veḷḷāḷan*, the legend which assigns to the *Veḷḷāḷan*, who founded the celebrated kingdom of Madura in Southern India, the name of *Pāṇḍiyan* or of ruler of the Palḷas, may be considered as by no means irrelevant evidence in support of my theory.

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on Castes in Southern India," by Mr. J. A. Boyle, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III (1874), pp. 287–289.

As *Paḷemu* is identical with *Velamu*, baronial village, so is Velama originally synonymous with Paḷegāḍu. About the Vellamas compare Rev. John Cain's article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 216.

[101] Compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 208, and IV, pp. 338 and 339.

PART II.

THE GAUDIANS.

CHAPTER VII.

Philological Remarks.

Having in the first part of my work treated of the Dravidians, I have now to deal with the other aboriginal tribes of India, whom I have classed together under the name of Gaudian. As already intimated, I derive the term *Gaudian* from the root *ko*, mountain.

This word *ko* or *ku* is of the old Turanian stock. It is still extant in the Tamil கோ, *kō*, mountain, and can be easily recognized in many expressions found in Telugu, Gondi, and other kindred dialects. Among words which perhaps are related to it is the Persian ﻛﻮﻩ (*kōh*, *kūh*,) or ﻛﻪ (*koh*, *kuh*) mountain; for Persian, I would remark, contains a considerable number of Turanian words which have their representatives in the Gauda-Dravidian dialects of India. The Sanskrit word *gō* has many different meanings, most of which are also expressed by its Tamil tatsamam *kō;* but *gō* in Sanskrit does not, so far as my knowledge goes, signify mountain, while, as already indicated, *kō* occurs in Tamil in the sense of mountain. As the root *kō* can be traced in other Gauda-Dravidian dialects as synonymous with mountain, it is pretty clear that the Tamil *kō*, mountain, is a separate word not identical with the term *kō*, denoting cow, &c.; and that it is not of Sanskrit but of Gauda-Dravidian origin.[1]

[1] About the derivation of Gaudian from *ko*, see p. 13. *Tatsamam* is a word introduced from Sanskrit into an Indian vernacular with little or no change.

The word *kō* is found in *Kōi*, *Kōya*, *Kōyi* and *Kōdu*, &c., which mean in Telugu and Gondi a *mountaineer* or *Gond*; also in *Kōna*, mountain-glen, or

The Gauda-Dravidian numerical roots *o(r)* one, and *mū*, three, are found in Tamil as *onṟu* (*oru* and *onṉu*) and *mūṉṟu*, in Malayālam as *onnu* and *mūnnu*, in Telugu as *oṇḍu* and *mūḍu*, in Kanarese as *ondu* and *mūru*, in Tulu as *oñji* and *mūji*, in Mādi as *undi* (wandi) and *mundu*, in Gondi as *undi* and *mūnu* (mund), in Kurgi as *ondu* and *mundu*. In a similar manner the root *ko* (*ku*), mountain, has developed in Tamil into *kuṉṟu*, *kuṉṟam*, and *kāṇḍam*, in Malayālam into *kunnu*, *kunnam*, and *kuṟu*, in Telugu into *koṇḍa*, *guṇḍu* and *guṭṭa*, in Kanarese into *guḍḍa*, in other dialects into *kuṇḍu*, &c. The tribal names *Koṟacaru* and *Koṟavaru*, mountaineers, permit the assumption of a root *koṟa*.[2] The fact that lingual and dental letters are promiscuously used in these formations, is rather peculiar. Lingual and dental affixes must have been indiscriminately employed in Dravidian languages for the construction of words; thus *ondu* signifies *one* (and *oṇṭi*, single)

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dale. The term *ku* is preferred by the Khonds, for Colonel John Campbell states on p. 13 in his *Personal Narrative of Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan:* "The hill districts of Orissa . . are peopled generally by Khonds, or *Kui*, as they call themselves."—The name of the *Koyanā*, one of the seven rivers which flow from the Mahābaleśvara mountain, is "derived either from Kuvena, or from *Koh*, a primitive term signifying a mountain." See *Bombay Asiatic Journal*, vol. IX, p. 253. With respect to the New-Persian and Parsi *koh*, mountain, I should mention that *kaufa*, mountain, occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Persian king Darius at the Behistūn. In Huzvāresh mountain is *kūph*. Yet it is not impossible that in spite of this fact, the word *ko* (*ku*) may also in this case be originally Non-Aryan.

Only where Tamil letters actually occur, they are transcribed according to the principle contained in note 1 on p. 3.

[2] Rev. Dr. Gundert in his *Malayalam and English Dictionary* presupposes a root *o*. Bishop Caldwell while advocating in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages* on pp. 217-223, the assumption of a basis *or*, writes on p. 220: "Dr. Gundert considers *ondru* an euphonised form of *on*, with the addition of *du*, the neuter formative, and that *on* and *or* are equivalents, being both verbal nouns from *o*, to be one. It is quite true that such a verb as *o* exists, that *n* or *an*, alternating with *am*, is used as a formative by many nouns, and that *n* sometimes changes into or alternates with *r* or *ṟ*." And on p. 222: "There is a verbal root in Tamil *o*, which has been supposed to mean, to be one. *On* and *or* (*ondru* and *oru*) are supposed by Dr. Gundert to be verbal nouns from this *o*. An undoubted derivative of *o* in Tamil and Malayālam is *okka*, which in Malayālam and the Tamil of the extreme south means 'altogether,' 'all' (compare Mordvin *wok*, all); and this is supposed

in Kanarese corresponding to the Telugu *oṇḍu*, and in Telugu *Kōdu* and *Gōndu* mean a Khond, while their equivalents in Sanskrit are *Kōṇḍa* and *Gōṇḍa*, to which corresponds the Telugu *Koṇḍaruḍu*.[3]

The addition of these lingual and dental affixes with or without a nasal, is a peculiarity of the Gauda-Dravidian languages.[4] The change of *k* into the other gutturals *kh*, *g*, and *gh*, or perhaps more properly the interchange between them, need hardly be mentioned, being of such frequent occurrence; nor is it necessary to draw attention to the resemblance in the pronunciation of the vowels *a*, *u* and *o*, and to their being promiscuously used the one for the other, *e.g.*, in *Kuḍaku* and *Koḍaku*, the name of the province Kurg, in *Kuṟavañji* or *Koṟavañji*, a common expression for a female gipsy.[5]

The names of most of the Gaudian races are formed from the above-given variations of *ko*, a circumstance which explains the very considerable differences occasionally

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by Dr. Gundert to be identical with the Telugu *oka*, one. Every step in this process, with one exception, is encumbered with difficulties." The question is still very doubtful, and can be hardly ever settled. Bishop Caldwell himself admits on p. 220 that: "*or*, in its primitive, unnasalised shape, is not now found in the cultivated Dravidian dialects as the first abstract neuter noun of number for one or unity." The Rev. F. Kittel seems to agree with the Bishop as he writes in his "Notes concerning the Numerals of the Ancient Dravidians" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 24: "1, ondu, onṟu (pronounce: ondu), oñji, or, ôr, om, on, ondu, ottu, to be undivided, to be one. A unit without a branch." * * "When the affix *du* is joined to a short monosyllabic root with final *r*, the root in this case being *or*, this liquid is sometimes changed into the Bindu. Observe *du* has become *ji* (in Tulu)."

[3] *Koḍu*, steep, *kōḍu*, peak, and similar words belong to this group. *Ku* and *gō* denote in Sanskrit earth, hence *kukīla*, mountain (a peg or pin of the earth). Whether any connection exists between the Sanskrit *kuṭa*, mountain, fort; *kuṭṭāra* and *kuṭṭīra*, mountain; *kūṭa*, mountainpeak; *kōṭa*, fort; and *kōṭi*, end, &c., and some Gauda-Dravidian words of similar sound and same meaning, is now very difficult to decide. Except *kūṭa*, which occurs already in the Ṛgvēda, none of these Sanskrit terms are found in very ancient works.

[4] It is thus conspicuous in the formation of some irregular plurals in Telugu.

[5] See p. 84.

noticeable in their outward appearance. People resort in private life to a variety of names in order to facilitate distinction between kindred individuals, families and clans. The same name is often borne by various tribes who, though originally akin to one another, dwell separately in distant places of the large Indian continent. Some tribal terms originally unobjectionable have had attributed to them in course of time a disparaging meaning,—such terms, for instance, as *Pariah* and *Caṇḍāla*. Yet, neither individuals nor races should be despised simply for the name they bear, particularly, if it is uncertain whether any stigma can be attached to them on that account. This caution should be strictly observed, especially as identical terms have often different significations in the various districts and separate communities of so vast a country as India.

Application of the term Gaudian.

I am aware that it is impossible to be too cautious in drawing up such lists as the following, the more so if they are the first of their kind; but one must guard as much against mistakes of omission as of commission. It is preferable, I believe, in a research like this, to make at first comprehensive statements, and to leave to the competent critic the task of pruning them.

I regard under these circumstances the following tribes and races as belonging to the Gaudian division:—the Kōi (Kui, Ku, Koital, Kōya, Kōyi), Kōdu and Gōndu or Koṇḍa (Khoṇḍa, Kuṇḍa, Kavuṇḍa, Gauḍa, Goṇḍa, and Gauṇḍa) or Kaṇḍa (Khaṇḍa, Kaṇḍara, Caṇḍa, and Caṇḍāla), Toda, Kōta, Koḍaga, Koṛaga, Kōla (Cōla), Koli, Kulu, Koṛacaru (Korcaru, Korsaru, Kuṛuciyar, Gurcari), Koṛava (Koṛama), Kuṛuva (Kuṛu, Yerakala, Kuṛuma, Kuṛumba, Kurmi), Kunnuva, &c.

The following Sanskrit names can, I believe, be connected with the Gaudians, though it may be difficult actually

to prove such a connection always. *Tribal* names such as:—Gauḍa, Gauḍaka, Gōṇḍa, Kaṇḍōla, Khaṇḍa, Caṇḍāla, Kōntala, Kuṇḍala, Kuntala, Kuṇṭhaka, Kunti, Kuntika, Kuraṭa, Kōnvaśira, Kōla, Kōlvagirēya, Cōla (Cōḍa), &c. The following names of *men*: Kuṇḍa, Kuṇḍika, Kuṇḍina, Kōla, Cōla, &c.; of *women*: Kuṇḍalā, Kunti, &c.; of *countries*: Gauḍa, Khāṇḍava, Kunti, &c.; of *mountains*: Kunda, Kuṇḍōda, Kuraṅga, Kōnva, Kōlagiri (Kōllagiri), Kōlāhala, &c.; of *streams*: Kuṇḍalā, &c.; of *forests*: Gōṇḍavana (Gōṇḍavāra), Khāṇḍava, &c.; of *plants*: Kunda (or *Malli*, jasmine), Kuṇḍalī (mountain ebony); and of *towns*: Gauḍa (Gōṇḍa), Gaura, Khāṇḍavaprastha, Kuṇḍaprastha, Kuṇḍāgni, Kuṇḍina(pura), &c.[6]

Ptolemy mentions among Indian tribes the Gonds as Kandaloi (VII, 1,66).[7] Strabo speaks of the country Gandaris or Gandarītis[8] in the north-west of India, while Ptolemy distinguishes (VI, 12, 4) between the Kandaroi in Sogdiana

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[6] *Koi-jāti* is a term generally given to the *Kōi* tribe. In the July number, 1837, of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, the Rev. William Taylor remarks as follows on page 17: "In the title to Mr. Stevenson's paper on their customs, they (the Khoonds) are styled ಕೊಂಡು *Codulu* and in Dr. Maxwell's list *Khoi-jāti*."

It is perhaps not quite out of place to mention among the tribal names also the *Gandhāra*, *Gāndhāra* or *Gandhāri*, who appear in the Behistān inscription among the subjects of Darius Hystaspes as *Gandāra*. If this is the case, the name of the Queen *Gāndhārī* would find a place among the female names connected with the Gaudians. Some connect the name of *Kandahar* with the Gāndhāras, while others derive the name of the town Kandahar from Alexander the Great.

I omit to include above in the text the names of the other sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra: Kuṇḍabhēdin, Kuṇḍadhāra, Kuṇḍaka, Kuṇḍaśāyin and Kuṇḍōdara.

[7] See p. 82, n. 70.—Christian Lassen used the edition of E. G. Willberg and wrote in vol. I, p. 113 (88), No. 2: "Ich lese mit Willberg *Gondaloi* statt *Kondaloi*." I used C. F. A. Nobbe's edition, which contains on p. 155 Κάνδαλοι.

[8] See *Strabōnos Geōgraphika* recensuit G. Kramer, Berolini, 1852, lib. XV, 1, 26 (Casaubonus, p. 697): The *Choaspes* (Attock) runs into the Kōphes (Cabul) near the town Plēmyrion, after passing by Gōrys, another city and going through Bandobēnē and Gandarītis; and XV, 1, 30 (Casaubonus, p. 699): Some call *Gandaris* the country subject to him (the nephew of Porus).

(VI, 12, 4) and the Gandarai (VII, 1, 44) between the Suastos and Indos.[9] The same geographer names also the Korankaloi (VII, 2, 15), who lived probably near the river Gaṇḍakī, which Plinius calls Condochates in his Natural History. Omitting a number of places, which may perhaps refer to the Gaudian population and are mentioned in the work of Ptolemy, I only draw attention to Kandipatna (VII, 1, 92), Kondōta (VII, 1, 14), Konta (VII, 1, 51), Kontakossyla emporion (VII, 1, 15), Koreūr (VII, 1, 86), Korindiur (VII, 1, 89), Korunkala (VII, 1, 93), and Kōrygaza (VII, 2, 14).[10]

Explanation of the use of Gauḍa (Gaudian) as a Tribal Name.

The term Gauḍa (Gaudian) is now generally regarded as appropriate to North India, while Drāviḍa is connected with South India. Neither term is used in its widest sense, for this division, though right in a general way, ignores the fact that many Gaudian elements are found in the south, while the north contains numerous Dravidian constituents. In fact both branches of the kindred stock exist side by side throughout the land. With this restriction, the use of both terms may be admitted.

The word *Gauḍa* is a derivative of the root *kō*, mountain, and its equivalents are Gōḍa and Gōṇḍa.[11] The substitution of *r* and *l* for *ḍ* gives Gaura and Gaula, which five forms

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[9] Ptol. VI, 12, 4. "Εἶτα παρὰ τὰ Σόγδια ὄρη Ὀξυδρᾶγκαι καὶ Δρυβάκται, καὶ Κάνδαροι," and VII, 1, 44: Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Σουάστου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ Γανδάραι."

[10] See C. Plinii Secundi *Naturalis historiæ*, lib. VI, 22: "Ex iis navigabiles, praeter iam dictos, *Condochatem*, Eranoboam, Cosoagum, Sonum." I have not included the *Gaṇḍakī* among the rivers, as its name is generally derived from *gaṇḍaka*, rhinoceros, which are said to be found in it. I regard this etymology as doubtful.

[11] See General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 327, 328: "In Uttara Kosala they (the districts) are *Gauda* (vulgarly Gonda) to the south of the Rapti, and Kosala to the north of the Rapti. . These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that *Gauda* is only a sub-division of Uttara Kosala, and that the ruins

occur simultaneously. There is no reason for supposing that Gauḍa is an antiquated Sanskrit formation; it was originally not Sanskrit at all, though it was received in course of time into the Sanskrit vocabulary. So far from being antiquated, it is still used in popular language. The modern Gauḍas have formed themselves into a separate clan, the greater part of which dwells at present in Southern India. The chief of a village, even when the principal villagers do not belong to the Gauḍa caste, is in Mysore and its neighbouring districts now generally called the Gauḍan. It must not, however, be overlooked that in spite of this fact the term Gauḍa has a tribal meaning and was probably given to the headman of a village community in consequence of the honorable position the Gauḍas occupied in the estimation of the population. According to the last Census report 259,110 *Gauḍas* live in Mysore alone, and 4,387 in the

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of Srâvasti have actually been discovered in the district of *Gauda*, which is the Gonda of the maps. The extent of *Gauda* is also proved by the old name of Balrâmpur on the Rapti, which was formerly *Râmgarh Gauda*."

Compare also vol. XXI, p. 13: "*Gonda* (or *Goḍa*) is a large flourishing village .. 13 miles from Karwi... To the east of the village, . there is a pair of old temples.. known as Chandeli Mandar, or the 'Chandeli temples,' as all the old buildings are designated throughout Bundelkhand." See further, vol. IX, p. 151: "The name of *Gond* is simply a corruption of Gauḍa. In the northern Gauḍa, or Uttara Kosala, the chief town is still named *Gauḍa*, which the Muhammadans before us corrupted to Gonda. On the finger-posts leading to the place, the Nâgarî गौड *Gauḍa* and the English *Gonda* are placed side by side. I spent several months in the Central Provinces, and I never once heard the aborigines called *Gond*, but always *Gor*. Now, as *Gauḍa* is a pure Sanskrit word, it would seem that this was not their true name, and that it must have been derived from the country in which they dwelt. This appears the more probable when we learn that they do not call themselves either *Gond* or *Gor*, but *Koïtur*. It is also strongly confirmed by the fact that there are no Gonds in the northern Gauḍa, or Uttara Kosala, and none in the eastern Gauḍa or western Bengal .. My explanation of Gauḍa as a geographical term, which gave its name to the Gond people, instead of having received it from them, is still confirmed by the fact that numerous temples which are said to have been built by the Gonds, were certainly not erected by them." Sir A. Cunningham overlooks that *Kôitur*, the name which the Gonds give to themselves, is in reality identical with Gond, see p. 145.

Bombay Presidency. I am well aware of the fact that the term *Gauḍa* has often been derived from the Sanskrit *gō*, cow; but this I take to be a wrong derivation.[12]

The name is found in fact all over India. That the terms Gauḍa and Goṇḍa are synonymous is proved by the fact that the well-known district and its capital in Oudh are known both as Goṇḍa and Gauḍa. True, the term Gond signifies now only a section of the Gaudian population, but this affects neither its etymology nor the point at issue. On the contrary the common origin of both terms explains why one can be used for the other, or both for one and the same place or individual.

It is a curious coincidence that the national division of the Indian population into Gaudians and Dravidians was

[12] There are altogether 263,497 *Gauḍas* and 161,353 *Gauḍes* in India. About the Gauḍas see Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition, vol. I, pp. 187, 207, 208, 274, 338, 340, 367, 395 and 396. On p. 187 he remarks: "The *Gauḍa*, called corruptly *Gaur*, and in the Mussulman language the *Potail*, is the chief *Ryut*, or farmer, in the village, and receives the whole dues of government. . The office of *Gauḍa* was originally hereditary; but now these persons are appointed by the Amildar, and continue in place so long as they keep up the collections to their supposed value, or until some other man undertakes, by bringing a greater number of farmers, to make the revenue more productive. The *Gauḍa* settles all disputes, in the same manner as hereditary chiefs of casts do." On pp. 207, 208, stands: "The Gauḍas here (in Colar) rent the villages, and every year make a new settlement with the *Amildar*; while they receive authority to take from the cultivators as much as they legally can. Some *Gaudas* rent two or three *Grāmas*, or villages; but to each there is an hereditary *Gauḍa*, who receives the title." See p. 338: "In all this part (Belluru) of the country it has been customary, when a new village was founded, for the person appointed to be hereditary *Gauḍa*, or chief, to place a large stone in or near the village. This stone is called the Curuvu Callu, or calf-stone, and is considered as representing the Grāma Dēvaru, or god of the village. The hereditary *Gauḍa* always officiates as *Pūjari* or priest; and at the annual village feast, after having rubbed it with oil, offers a sacrifice, with which he feasts his relations and the chief men of the place." On p. 274 we read: "The proper *Curubas* have hereditary chiefs, who are called *Gaudas*, whether they be head-men of villages or not, and possess the usual jurisdiction." See also p. 380. The title Gauḍan is esteemed in Mysore. About the name *Kauṇḍar*, see p. 99. As *Gauḍa* so has *Gauli* been derived from *gō*, cow, compare p. 141. About *Gaula* see *Mysore Inscriptions* of L. Rice, pp. 20, 45, &c.

adopted by the Aryan Brahmans after they had settled in Bharatavarṣa, and like the Gaudians and Dravidians, the Gauḍa-Brahmans are mainly settled in the north, while the Drāviḍa-Brahmans preponderate in the south. I have already alluded to this classification on pp. 21 and 22.

The five divisions of the Gauḍa-Brahmans are, as previously mentioned, named respectively after the Sarasvatī-river, Kānyakubja (the modern Kanauj), Gauḍa, Utkala now known as Orissa, and Mithila.

When applied to Brahmans, many explain the term Gauḍa as describing those who lived near the celebrated ancient town of Gauḍa or Gaura, the ruins of which still excite the admiration of those who visit them. Others take Gauḍa as the kingdom of which Gaur was the capital.[13] It appears somewhat improbable that the Brahmans, who came originally from the West, should have chosen for themselves a name from a locality so far remote in the East. This supposition becomes even less likely if one considers

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[13] Instead of Karṇāṭa Kāśmīra is mentioned in the *Jātimālā*.

See H. T. Colebrooke's *Enumeration of Indian Classes* in his miscellaneous Essays, vol. II (1873), p. 159: "In Jambu-dwīpa, Brāhmaṇas are reckoned tenfold; Sāraswata, Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila, Utkala, Drāvida, Mahārāshṭra, Gujjara, and Kāśmira, residing in the several countries whence they are named."

Read *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 39: "The great city of *Gauda* or *Gaur*, the capital of Balāl Sen and his descendants . . is not mentioned at all by Hwen Thsang . . (p. 40) The name of the province in which Lakhnauti or Gaur was situated was *Barbanda* or *Baranda*. At the same time we know that the *Gauḍas* were a tribe, and that the Pāla Rajas took the title of *Gaureśvara*. It seems certain therefore that the western part of the province at least must have been called *Gauḍa* or *Gaur* . . (p. 41) The name of *Gauḍa* or *Gaur* is, I believe, derived from *Guḍa* or *Gur*, the common name of molasses, or raw sugar, for which this province has always been famous. In former days when the Ganges flowed past the city, Gaur was the great mart where all the sugar of the northern districts was collected for exportation."

This derivation of Gaur is also mentioned and recommended by others, but it is still doubtful. Gaur or Lakhnauti lies in lat. 24° 52′ N., long. 88° 10′ E., in the Maldah district of Bengal.

that some of the principal Gaudian sub-divisions are named after such western districts, as Kānyakubja, or the country watered by the sacred Sarasvatī which loses itself in the deserts north of Rājputāna.[14] Some scholars even state that the Brahmans known as Gauḍa-Brahmans are not Bengalis, but inhabitants of Hindustan proper, who according to their own legends left Kānyakubja and emigrated to the East in the time of the Pāṇḍavas.[15]

According to this tradition, the Kānyakubja Brahmans migrated to the Eastern Gauḍa at an early period, but the question when the division into Gauḍa and Drāviḍa Brahmans took place, remains unanswered. Nor are we better able to decide the reason of this peculiar separation. The most probable explanation may be that the Brahmans simply adopted the division which they found existing among the original inhabitants in the midst of whom they settled. In that case we have no means of assigning an historical date to this event. If, as I suppose, the Gauda-Dravidian population existed in this dual state already in prehistoric times, it will be very difficult indeed to ascertain when the Brahmans adopted this classification in their community.

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[14] Compare H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa*, vol. II, p. 195, and Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, pp. 124–139: "The Sārasvata Brāhmans form the only class of natives of India now distinctly recognized as connected with the Sārasvata nation. They are found, not only in the Panjāb and Sindh, where they abound, but in Rājputāna, Gujarāt, the North-West Provinces, and even, as we have seen, throughout the southern provinces of India" (pp. 125, 126). H. T. Colebrooke states in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1873, vol. II, p. 21: "The Sāraswata was a nation which occupied the banks of the river Saraswatī. Brāhmaṇas, who are still distinguished by the name of their nation, inhabit chiefly the Panjāb or Panchanada, west of the river from which they take their appellation."

[15] See H. T. Colebrooke, *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 25, note 1: "It is necessary to remark, that though Gaura (Gauḍa) be the name of Bengal, yet the Brāhmaṇas, who bear that appellation, are not inhabitants of Bengal, but of Hindustān proper. They reside chiefly in the Subā of Delhi, while the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal are avowed colonists from Kanoj. It is difficult to account for this contradiction. The Gaura Brāhmaṇas allege a tradition, that their ancestors migrated in the days of the Pāṇḍavas, at the commencement of the present Kali Yuga. Though no plausible conjecture can be formed on

Yet, considering that the Dravidians gravitated in the course of time towards the south, while the Gaudians preponderated in the north, and that the Brahmanic division corresponds with this fact, we may not err in assuming that the Brahmans introduced this arrangement among themselves after the Gauda-Dravidians had thus settled down in their respective places. However, even this supposition will not supply us with accurate dates, especially as Southern India was already known as Drāviḍa at a comparatively early period.

It seems thus very improbable that the Gauḍa-Brahmans were originally called after the celebrated town *Gauḍa*, or after the kingdom of which it was the capital, especially if the true derivation of this word is from *gauḍa*, गौड, molasses (from *guḍa*), and if *Gauḍadēśa* is an equivalent of *Sugarland*, an explanation which also appears to be doubtful. The name Gauḍa applies to most Brahmans in the North, but it is also used as specifying a particular sub-division; in the same manner as Drāviḍa has also a general and a special sig-

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this tradition, yet I am induced to retract a conjecture formerly hazarded by me, that the Gaur of our maps was the original country of the Gaura priests."

Sir Henry M. Elliot supports in his *Supplementary Glossary of Indian Terms*, London, 1869, vol. I, p. 102, the Pāṇḍava legend: "They (the Gaur Brahmans) all state that they came from Gaur in Bengal, but there is much improbability in the story. There can be little doubt of Kanaujias emigrating on the invitation of Adiswara from Kanauj to Bengal; how then can we account for the whole tribe of Gaurs not only leaving their native seats, but crossing through the country of the Kanaujias, and dwelling on the other side of them? If they emigrated in or about the time of the Pāṇḍavas, as universal local tradition would induce us to suppose, it would lead to the inference that Kanaujias are a more modern race. Gaur, moreover, was only made the Bengal capital shortly before the Mahomedan conquest, and that is too late to admit of its giving a name to one of the ten tribes."—Compare also *ibidem* the remarks made on the *Gaur tagā* on pp. 106–115.

Dr. Francis Buchanan mentions the legend of a westward Brahmanic emigration from Gaur, but disproves of it also finally. He alludes to it twice in the third volume of his work, *Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India*; thus on p. 42 he says: "One (tradition) is that

nification. From what has been already stated, the origin of this expression is to be looked for in the West, though no doubt the subsequent preponderance of the Eastern Gauḍa kings made this fact fall into oblivion. *Kuśāmba*, a grandson of Balākāśva and son of Kuśa, is the reputed founder of the well-known town Kauśāmbī, south of Ayōdhyā and north-west of the modern Allahabad. The Hitōpadēśa places it in the Gauḍa country.[16] Similarly is the city Śrāvastī described as situated in Gauḍa, while it belongs to Kōsala, likewise a part of Oudh.[17] These and many more examples can be quoted to show that the term *Gauḍa* does not apply only to the distant East. Moreover, the tradition which Colebrooke has preserved assigns to the Gauḍa-Brahmans a western home and connects their origin with the wars of the Pāṇḍavas. I am inclined to attach to this legend some value, though I quite admit that we possess no records to prove its authenticity. If deserving notice, we ought to ascribe to this division a comparatively early date, while

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Janmeyaj, son of Parikshit, son of Abhemanyu, son of Arjun, brother of Yudhishthir, and the third king of India of the family of Pandu, removed all the Brahmans from Gaur and settled them to the west of the Ganges beyond Hastinapoor, where their descendants still remain." On pp. 154-155, however, he remarks: "The few Brahmans of the Gaur nation that are now in Bengal, have avowedly come very recently from the west of India, and the same is the case with almost all the tribes of Sudras, who claim to be of the Gaur nation, none of whom, the Vaishnavs excepted, are now to be found in Gaur. I therefore concluded, that some place called Gaur in the vicinity of Agra or Delhi, was the original country of this nation. I have, however, since met with some well-informed Brahmans of this nation who allege, that the Gaur of Bengal is their original place of settlement, but that the whole of them were removed from there by Janmeyaj, and placed near Hastinapoor... The Sudras, however, of Gaur, having as well as the Brahmans come from the west of India, render this emigration in the time of Janmeyaj rather doubtful."

I have proved above the existence of a western Gauḍa (Gaur.)

Read about *Gaur*, also *ibidem*, vol. III, pp. 69-80.

[16] Compare *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 34, 6; *Pāṇini* IV, 2, 68; *Hitōpadēśa* in Mitralābha: Asti Gauḍaviṣayē (Gauḍa > Gauḍiyē) Kauśāmbī nāma nagarī.

[17] Compare *Vishṇupurāṇa*, vol. II, p. 263 and above p. 115 n. 11.

if the city of Gauḍa was not in existence when Ptolemy lived, it is evident that no Brahmans could have been called after it before his time. I merely call attention to this fact, though I object to the proposed derivation of the name Gauḍa-Brahman from the city of Gauḍa, whatever may have been the origin of the name of that town.

On the name Kolarian.

Before entering into any further particulars about the Gaudian group, it is necessary to make a few remarks on the name *Kolarian*. It has of late been repeatedly and authoritatively stated that India was in ancient times called Colaria, and that the Kols in Central India represent the real aborigines of India, to whom it is indebted for this name. To both these statements I demur, and though I admit the antiquity of the tribes which are now styled *Kolarian*, I would at once observe that the *Kōla* and *Kōli*, who are mentioned in the Epic and Pauranic Sanskrit literature, should not be confounded with the modern Kols.[18]

The Kolarian theory, if I may so call it, derives its main support from the writings of three eminent men, Colonel Wilford, Colonel Dalton, and Sir George Campbell, for whom I must needs have the greatest respect; but while recognizing their merit, I trust to be able to show that in this matter they have erred in their conclusions and built up a theory on very slender foundations. The view they maintain will be found presented in the following extracts.

According to Colonel Dalton the word Kol "is one of "the epithets of abuse applied by the Bramanical races to "the aborigines of the country who opposed their early "settlement, and it has adhered to the primitive inhabi-

[18] *Kōli*, as it occurs, *e.g.*, in Kōlisarpaḥ.

"tants of Chota-Nagpore for ages. It includes many "tribes; the people of this province to whom it is generally "applied are, either Moondah or Oraon; and though these "races are now found in many parts of the country occupying "the same villages, cultivating the same fields, celebrating "together the same festivals, and enjoying the same amuse- "ments, they are of totally distinct origin and cannot inter- "marry without loss of caste."[19]

Sir George Campbell is the inventor of the term *Kolarian*, and I shall now quote his arguments in favor of it: "The "generic name usually applied to the Aborigines of the "hill country of Chota-Nagpore, Mirzapore, and Rewah "is 'Coles' or 'Koles.' Europeans apply the term to the "Dravidian Oraons as well as to the others, but perhaps "erroneously. It is difficult to say to which tribes the "name is properly applied, for most of them have other "distinctive names. But in the south of the Chota-Nagpore "country, about Singbhoom, &c., it is certainly applied to "the 'Lurka Coles,' and I can myself testify that on the "Mirzapore-Jubbulpore road, the Aborigines are called by the natives Coles or Kolees, which they volunteered to "explain to me to be the same word 'which you call "Coolee.' On the Bombay side again a very numerous class "of Aborigines are styled Kolees. In the Simla hills also, "the inferior people are known as Kolees. Altogether I "have myself little doubt that the ordinary word Coolee, as "applied to a bearer of burdens or labourer, is the same word, "and that in short it is the word generally applied by the "Northern Indians to the Aboriginal tribes, most of whom "they reduced to the condition of Helots. There seems to "be good reason to suppose that the original form of the

[19] See Colonel Dalton's article "The Kols of Chota-Nagpore," in the Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXV, 1887, Part II, p. 154.

"word was 'Kola' or 'Kolar.' In fact, India seems to have "been known to the ancients (who approached it coastwise "from the West) as Colara or Coolee-land (*Asiatic Re-* "*searches*, vol. IX) and the people as Colaurians. If Kolar "be the original form of Kolee, it would seem not im- "probable that, as in the mouths of some tribes by dropping "the 'r' it becomes Kola or Kolee, so in the mouths of "others by dropping the 'l' it would become Koar, Kaur, "Koor, Khar, or Khor, a form which would embrace a "large number of those tribes as now designated. I propose "then to call the northern tribes Kolarian or Coolee "Aborigines.

"One may see frequent allusion to Kolaries or Colleries "in the south of India. It appears that the word there "used is properly 'Kallar.' In the Canarese language, the "word 'Kallar,' it seems, simply means a thief or robber, "and hence some of the predatory Aborigines of the hills, "are designated Kallars or robbers, just as the thieves of "Central Asia are called 'Kazaks' or 'Cossacks.' The word "is applied so differently from that of Coolee, that there "may fairly be doubt of its being the same. But the subject "is worthy of further inquiry, and if it prove that in fact "the two words are identical, the term Coolee or Kolarian "must be applied to the Aboriginal tribes generally, not to "one division of them. Meanwhile, however, I apply it to "the Northern tribes only, but I confess I have misgivings "whether the more general sense may not prove to be the "true one."[20]

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[20] See *The Ethnology of India*, by Mr. Justice Campbell, in the Supplement to Part II, pp. 27, 28 of vol. XXXV of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Compare *A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia* by W. W. Hunter; Dissertation, pp. 25–27. "Sanskrit literature refers to other sections of the Kol race under such names as Chol-as, Kul-indas, &c. . . . In the *Asiatic Society's Journal* the ancient name for India is stated to have been Kolaria, and turning to the modern map of India, we find indications of

Sir George Campbell appears thus to be rather diffident as to the propriety of his selecting the term Kolarian and his doubts are not without good cause. A perusal of the arguments of Colonel Wilford will confirm them. In the twentieth volume of the *Asiatic Journal of Bengal* was published "A comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India" by Colonel Wilford, in which we read on pp. 227 and 228 the following remarks: "The oldest name of "India, that we know of, is *Colar*, which prevailed till the "arrival of the followers of Brahmā, and is still preserved "by the numerous tribes of Aborigines, living among "woods, and mountains. These Aborigines are called in the

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the race in every province from Burmah to Malabar: in the Kols of Central India; Kolas of Katwar; the Kolis, inferior husbandmen and a landless clan of Gujarat; the Kolis, obscurely mentioned as helot cultivators on the Simla range; the Kolitas of Northern Bengal and Assam; the Kolami of Central India, classed with the Naikude, &c., in my vocabularies; the Kalars, a robber caste in the Tamil country; the Kalars of Tinnevelly: in the Kolis of Bombay; in the names of the Kolarun river in Southern India, of the Koel river, from the Chota Nagpore watershed, of the Culinga and Koladyn rivers, and of many other streams; in Kulna, a district in Bengal; Kulpac, in the Nizam's dominions; Kulalpur, in the Panjab; Kulan and Kola Fort, in the distant north-west; in Kulbunga, town and district, near the Bombay Presidency, within, I believe, the territory of the Nizam; and to be brief in such names as the following, scattered over the whole length and breadth of India,—names which the reader may identify in a moment by referring to Dr. Keith Johnston's index to his Map from the Royal Atlas. Kuldah, Kulkeri, Kulianpur in three different districts, Kullavakurti, Kullean, Kuller-kaher, Kulu district, Kullum, Kullung River, Kullunji, several Kullurs, Kulpani, Kulpi, Kulra, Kulsi, Kolachi, Kolapur town and state, the three Kolars, Kolaspur, Kolbarea, Koli, Kolikod (Calicut), Cola Bira, Colair, Colgong, Collum (Kayan-kulam), Colur, and Colombo in Ceylon. I would go further, and, if time permitted, could philologically prove the connection of the above with hundreds of other names and places in regular series."

I am afraid that something more than time would have been required by Sir William Hunter for proving the philological connection of the Kols with the Gaudian *Kolami*, with the Tamil *Kallar*, with *Kolikod* the modern Calicut or Kōḷi-kōḍu, with *Kuliarpur* or Kalyāṇapura, not to mention many others of the above-quoted names. The Royal Atlas of Dr. Keith Johnston can hardly be regarded as an authority with respect to the spelling of Indian places.

"peninsula to this day, *Colāris* and *Colairs*, and in the "north of India *Coles*, *Coils* and *Coolies;* thus it seems, "that the radical name is *Cōla*. This appellation of "*Colar* was not unknown to the ancients; for the younger "Plutarch says, that a certain person called *Ganges*, was "the son of the *Indus* and of *Dio-Pithusa*, a *Calaurian* "damsel, who through grief, threw himself into the river "*Chliarus*, which after him was called Ganges; and *Chliarus* "is probably a mistake for *Calaurius*, or the Colarian "river. I believe, that *Dio-Pithus* is the name of the "father and *Sindhu* of the mother: for *Deva-Pithu*, or "*Deo-Pithu*, is worshipped to this day on the banks of the "*Sindhū*, a female deity. The etymology of *Cōlar* is pro- "bably out of our reach: but it is asserted by some that *Cola*, "*Coil*, or *Cail*, signify a woodlander, exactly like *Chael*, *Gāl*, "in Great Britain; and the etymological progress is the same. "In several dialects of the peninsula *Cādu*, is a forest, and "its derivative is *Cādil;* from which striking off the *d* "remains *Cail*."[21]

I come to the passage in Plutarch's work "On Rivers," which has originated all these statements about India's ancient name *Colaria*. Plutarch gives in his work some legendary accounts of twenty-five rivers. Three among

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[21] The article to which Sir George Campbell refers when quoting vol. IX of the *Asiatic Researches* is the suggestive "Essay on the Magadha Kings," by Captain F. Wilford, where on p. 92 we read: "The offspring of *Turvasu*, so far from settling in the west, is declared, in the *Harivansa*, to have settled in the southern parts of *India;* and in the tenth generation, including their *Sire*, four brothers divided the *peninsula* among themselves. Their names were *Pandya*, *Cērala*, *Cōla*, and *Chōla:* and this division obtains, even to this day. *Cōla* lived in the northern parts of the *peninsula*, and his descendants are called *Coles*, and *Coliers* to this day: and they conceive themselves, with much probability, to be the aborigines of *India*, to which they give the name of *Coller* or *Colara*. Hence, we read in *Plutarch*, that the *Ganges* was called formerly the Calaurian river, and the same author mentions a Calaurian, or Hindu, and a handsome damsel, called *Diopithusa*, who was also a *Calaurian*, or native of India, or country bordering upon the *Calaurian* river."

these are Indian streams: the Hydaspes, Ganges and Indos.[22]

The Hydaspes is the first river described. Plutarch relates that a certain king Hydaspes had a daughter Chrysippe, whom Aphrodite out of spite caused to fall in love with her own father. She was for this offence crucified by the order of her father. But, these calamities so upset Hydaspes that he threw himself into the river Indos, which was henceforward called Hydaspes.

In ancient times there lived a youth called *Indos*, who had raped Damasalkida, a daughter of the king Oxyalkos, while she was celebrating the feast of Bakchos. The king, her father, pursued him, and when Indos saw all escape impossible, he plunged into the river *Mausolos* rather than expose himself to the king's vengeance. This river had been so called after *Mausolos*, a son of the Sun, but from that time it was named *Indos* which is a river in India in the country of the *Ichthyophages* or Fish-eaters.

The story of the Ganges resembles these two.[23] It is as follows:—"The Ganges is a river of India [illegible]led so for the following reason. The nymph *Kalauria* bor[illegible]dos a son of

[22] See Plutarch Περὶ ποταμῶν or *de fluminibus*. The twenty-five rivers are the Hydaspes, Ismenos, Hebros, Ganges, Phasis, Arar, Paktolos, Lykormas, Maiandros, Marsyas, Strymon, Sagaris, Skamandros, Tanais, Thermodon, Nilos, Eurotas, Inachos, Alpheios, Euphrates, Kaikos, Acheloos, Araxes, Tigris, and Indos.

[23] See *Plutarchi Chaeronensis omnium quae extant operum (Tomi duo)*, Gulielmo Xylandro interprete, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1624. At the end of the second volume is printed: "Πλουταρχου περι ποταμων και ορων επωνυμιας και των εν αυτοις ευρισκομενων.—Plutarchi de Fluviorum et Montium nominibus, et de iis quae in illis inveniuntur, interprete *Philippo Jacobo Maussaco*." There we read in vol. II, pp. 1151, 1152:

Γάγγης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἰνδίας, τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβὼν δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Ἰνδῳ τις Καλαυρία νύμφη ἐγγέννησεν υἱὸν κάλλει περίβλεπτον, τὸ ὄνομα Γάγγην. Οὗτος καρηβαρήσας τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνεγγένετο τῇ Διοπιθούσῃ, ὁ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρας παρὰ τῆς τροφοῦ μαθὼν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, διὰ λύπης ὑπερβολὴν ἑαυτὸν ἔῤῥιψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλιαρὸν καλούμενον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Γάγγης μετωνομάσθη. Maussacus translates this passage as follows: "Ganges fluvius est Indiae, ita vocatus hac de causa: Ex Indo Calauria quaedam virgo genuit filium pulchritudine conspicuum nomine Gangem: qui somno vinoque sepultus cum matre Diopi-

conspicuous beauty, by name *Ganges*, who, when inebriated, had once in ignorance connection with his mother. But when he had learnt on a subsequent day the truth from his nurse, he threw himself through excess of remorse into the river *Chliaros*, which was called after him Ganges." The ancient edition of Plutarch, which was published by Xylander at Paris in 1624, contains in an Appendix at the end, the treatise *On Rivers*. It was edited, translated and annotated by Phil. Jacob. Maussacus. In its text occurs instead of the correct reading δ'ἐπιούσῃ the false expression *Διοπιθούσῃ* which Maussacus mistook for a name, though his predecessors the learned Natalis a Comitibus and Turnebus had already doubted the accuracy of the text, as Maussacus himself mentioned in a note which is quoted below. Colonel Wilford unfortunately accepted the wrong reading and built on it a new theory. According to Plutarch, so says the Colonel, *Diopithuse* was a Calaurian damsel, but Wilford himself further changes Diopithuse into a man *Dio-Pithus* (for Deva-Pithu or Deo-Pithu), and declares

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thuse concubuit per inscitiam, sed interdiu cum a nutrice rei veritatem didicisset, ob dolorem extremum seipsum coniecit in fluvium Chliarum, qui ab eo Gangis nomen assumpsit."

However, in the 5th volume of Πλουταρχου 'Αποσπασματα και Ψευδεπιγραφα edited by Fr. Dübner, Paris, 1855, and in the edition of *Plutarchi Libellus de fluviis*, rec. et notis instr. Rud. Hercher, Lipsiae, 1857, we read: Γάγγης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς 'Ινδίας . . . Οὗτος καρηβαρήσας τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνεγένετο. Τῇ δ'ἐπιούσῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν παρὰ τῆς τροφοῦ μαθῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν . ἑαυτὸν ἐρρίψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλιαρόν . . .

We read already on p. 72 in the Appendix to the edition of Maussacus entitled; Plutarchi librorum Περὶ ποταμῶν Philippi Jac. Maussaci emendationes et notae: "Mirum est hoc nomen proprium Diopithusae nostros interpretes exercitos habuisse. Natalis a Comitibus sicco pede haec transivit, quae tamen fida interpretatione opus habebant. Magnus Turnebus tanta est usus circumlocutione in vero hoc nomine explicando, ut plane eum ab scopo aberasse nemo bonus negare audeat; *qui per ebrietatem* (inquit) *inscienter matrem, divorum quempiam esse existimantem, cognovit.* Ut concedamus Διοπιθούτη hic non esse nomen proprium tamen Graecis non convenit haec interpretatione Latina, vertendum enim esset simpliciter, *Jovem eum esse credentem*, sed hoc est nugari. Διοπιθούση nomen verum est Diopithus; or

Colar as the oldest name of India we know of. That theory, however, must now be abandoned, and with the disappearance of *Diopithuse* from the pages of Plutarch, the whole edifice of conjecture so ingeniously raised on the supposed occurrence of this name, must fall to the ground; there being absolutely nothing to support the assumption that India was known in the earliest times as the Kolarian Empire.

Sir George Campbell supported Colonel Wilford by stating that India "seems to have been known to the ancients as Colara or Coolee Land and the people as Colaurians" and by eventually advocating the name Colee or Kolarian for the aboriginal tribes of India. I need not specially mention that the dictionary of Greek proper names, compiled by Dr. W. Pape, does not contain *Diopithuse* as a name, though it refers to the nymph Kalauria and the river Chliaros.[24]

I had here in Madras at my disposal only the antiquated edition of Xylander printed by Antonius Stephanus, in which the reading *Diopithuse* occurs. Though doubting its accuracy from the first, I was not prepared to emendate the text, for besides my own conviction and the note of Maussacus, I had no evidence to go upon. Later on, however, I consulted Dr. Pape's excellent Dictionary of Greek names and the fact that it makes no mention of Diopithuse confirmed my suspicions. To ascertain the truth, I eventually wrote to

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[24] The *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* von Dr. W. Pape gives *Kalauria* as the name of a nymph, *e.g.* on p. 235 (third edition) "Ganges,–[3]) S.-des Indos u.-der Kalauria, welcher sich in den Chliaros stürzte, wovon dieser den Namen Ganges erhielt, *Plut. flav.* 4, 1;" and on p. 596 under Kalauria: "[3] Nymphe, Gem. des Indos, M. des Ganges, *Plut. flav.* 4, 1."

Kalauria or *Kalaureia* is the well-known island with the famous temple of Poseidon, which opened a safe asylum to all pursued. Demosthenes when hunted down by the Macedonians, poisoned himself in it. The island was called after *Kalauros*, a son of Poseidon. Kalauria belonged originally to Apollo who had exchanged it with Poseidon for Delos. Poseidon is therefore also called *Kalaureates*, Kalauria in contradistinction to Kalabria is sometimes explained as "land of peace" and Kalauros as "peaceful" (Frederic).

friends in Europe who kindly supplied me with the right reading δ'ἐπιούσῃ instead of Διοπιθούσῃ.

It may also be added that, according to Plutarch, all the rivers on which he comments have changed their original names in order to bear the one by which they were afterwards generally known. Plutarch refers occasionally to previous authors to verify his accounts, *e.g.*, to Kallisthenes, Kaimarōn, Kleitophōn, Aristoteles, and others, but even if most of the works he quotes had not been lost, it is doubtful whether he could have substantiated his statements. The stories about the Hydaspes and Indos are so un-Indian and so mythical that it is hardly necessary to try to explain the report concerning the Ganges. Even if the term *Kalauria* were an adjective derived from a proper name, and Chliaros were a mistake for Kalaurios, there is nothing to prove that *Kalauria* should be identical with Indian, not to speak of the boldness of deriving from it *Colar* or *Colara* as a term designating India in ancient times; a term and a signification which occur nowhere in the whole classical literature. I am quite convinced that *Kalauria* has nothing to do with the Kols of Chota-Nagpore, though I am not prepared to venture a decided conjecture as to the origin of the word Kalauria used by Plutarch.[25]

It is perhaps a mere accident that the *Yamunā* which joins the Gaṅgā or Ganges at Prayāga (Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Allahabad) is called Kālindī, the daughter of *Kalinda*, for she springs from the mountain Kalinda, or is accord-

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[25] Herodotos mentions III, 38 and 97, the Indian *Kalatiai* or *Kalantiai* who ate their parents. The Brahman *Kalanos* (Kalyāṇa) who accompanied Alexander the Great is well known for burning himself alive. I only mention these names as they resemble somewhat *Kalauria*. I need hardly add that the Greek word κάλαρις, which is commonly pronounced κόλαρις, a kind of screech-owl, has nothing in common with this subject.

To declare *Colara* as a name of India, though such never existed, and to derive it from the nymph Kalauria on the authority of the younger Plutarch's mythical account of the river Ganges appears like a pun like what a Berliner would call a *Kalauer*.

ing to others a daughter of the Sun-god Kalinda who is in consequence known as *Kālindīsū*, the father of Yamunā, while the god *Yama* is called *Kālindīsōdara*, the brother of Yamunā. I mention this circumstance as Plutarch gives to Indos the name of Mausolos after Mausolos, the son of the Sun.

Another peculiar coincidence is that the *Kālī* or Black Gaṅgā, which is also known as *Mandākinī*, has in its upper course some famous warm springs and that *Chliaros* in Greek means lukewarm. A second Mandākinī rises on the *Kālañjara* mountain, on whose top the lake of the gods is situated.

It is somewhat astonishing that Colonel Wilford without giving any reasons explained Chliaros as a mistake for *Calaurius*. He could as well have conjectured *Chliara* for Kalauria. All editions, however, of Plutarch, the modern emendated as well as the old antiquated, read Kalauria and Chliaros as proper-names.[26]

The ancient inhabitants of the country round Mathura in North India are also called Kalārs, but this name has not yet been explained and has presumably no connection with the *Kalauria nymphe* of Plutarch.

Modern writers have often identified the Kolis and the Kolarees or Colleries of South India with the Kols. It is a peculiar circumstance that, except by the *Hos* or Larka-Kols, the term Kol is not used by the so-called Kolarians, who include the Mundas, Santals, Korwas, Juangs, and a few other tribes.[27] The Kolis are, according to my opinion, Gaudians, and must be distinguished from those races now

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[26] For *Kālindī* occurs also *Kalindī*, a wrong formation. Balarāma is also called *Kālindī-Karṣaṇa*, or *Kālindī-bhēdana* for diverting the Yamunā by his ploughshare into a new bed in the Vṛn lāvana-forest. *Mandākinī* is also the name of the Gaṅgā of the heavens. About this river see Chr. Lassen's *Indische Alterth.*, vol. I, pp. 64-66, where this question is fully discussed.

[27] See Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 178: "The Hos are the only branch of the Kols that has preserved a national appellation." *Larka* means fighter. About the *Kolarians* consult Mr. J. F. Hewitt's "Notes on early History of Northern India," in the *Journal of the R. A. Society*, 321-363.

generally described as Kols. Besides, our knowledge of this people is still very limited, and it would be venturesome to make decided statements as to their origin. Though differing from the Gauda-Dravidians in language, which must be regarded as a very important test, they nevertheless intermarry occasionally with them, a circumstance which on the other hand tends to indicate some intimate connection between them.

The word *Kūli* is a common Gauda-Dravidian term which signifies *hire*, and is eventually also applied to the person who is hired. A hireling or servant is thus called a *Kūli*. The name Kol is a totally distinct word. The now common term Kūli started from the Eastern coast of India, where the principal English factories such as Madras were situated, and whence in course of time the English commenced to lay the foundation of their Indian Empire in the days of Clive.[28]

The Kolarees or Colleries represent the well-known Kallas, the dreaded thief tribe, who are mostly dependents of

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[28] Compare Wilson's Glossary, p. 301: "Kūli: Coolee, (Tam. கூலி, Mal. ꠎꠣꠇꠤ, Kan. ಕೂಲಿ, Tel. కూలి, Beng. কুলী, Hind. قلی), Daily hire or wages: a day labourer, a *Cooly*: (the word is originally Tamil, whence it spread into the other languages: in Upper India it bears only its second and apparently subsidiary meaning: it appears as *Culialu*, as the term for hired labourers, in Tulava—Buchanan.)" Kūliyāḷu is one of the Kanarese terms for hireling like the Telugu *Kūligāḍu*.

In Colonel Yule's and Dr. Burnell's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases*, p. 192, an attempt is made to derive the term *Kūli* from *Koli*, but it is notwithstanding admitted: "Though this explanation of the general use of the term *Cooly* (from *Koli*) is the most probable, the matter is perplexed by other facts which it is difficult to trace to the same origin. Thus in S. India, there is a Tamil word *kūli* in common use, signifying 'hire' or 'wages,' which Wilson indeed regards as the true origin of *Cooly*. Also in both Oriental and Osmanli Turkish *Kol* is a word for a slave, whilst in the latter also *Kūleh* means 'a male slave, a bondsman' (*Redhouse*). *Khol* is in Tibetan also a word for servant or slave (Note from A. Schiefner). The familiar use of *Cooly* has extended to the Straits Settlements, Java and China, as well as to all tropical and sub-tropical colonies, whether English or foreign."

the Rāja of Pudukōṭa. A single individual of this clan is called a *Kaḷḷan*, of which word *Kaḷḷar* is the plural.[29]

Enough has been already adduced to prove that the *Kalauria nymphe* of Plutarch does not refer to an ancient name of India, that the so-called *Colaria* is a purely imaginary appellation, based in part on a badly pronounced and distorted plural formation of the name of the Kaḷḷar, or on *Kolarees*, and that, though the term Kolarian may be still applied to the Kol race, it must be clearly understood that all the wild philological vagaries concerning the origin and antiquity of this expression ought to be abandoned. Yet, the history of the fictitious term *Colaria* provides us on the other hand with an instructive example how by a concatenation of conjectures and conclusions a new theory can be successfully started and find acceptance among scholars of reputation. It has thus now become a fashion to ascribe all ancient monuments with which the Kolis, Kōlas and other kindred tribes can be connected with the so-called Kolarians, whose original home and early history are shrouded in mysterious darkness, who, if we can trust reliable information, do not even use the term *Kol* as a tribal name, and who, so far as it is known, do not claim as their own the scattered remains in Northern India, which modern writers are so fond of ascribing to them.

I now proceed to discuss in detail the principal tribes whom I regard as representatives of the Gaudian race. The linguistic and ethnological connection of these clans has in most instances been generally admitted by competent scholars, yet, their close relationship has, so far as I am aware, not hitherto been so distinctly stated.

I shall begin with the Kolis, Kōlas, and tribes kindred, pass on to the Gonds and their clansmen, then notice the

[29] It is doubtful whether *Kaḷḷan* meant originally a thief, or simply a man of the *Kaḷḷan* tribe who, excelling in thieving accomplishments, imparted to them the meaning of thief. I recur to this subject on pp. 257—60.

Koḍagas, Koṛagas, afterwards consider the position of the Todas and Kōtas, and end with a survey of the Kuṛubas or Kuṛumbas in their various ramifications.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the Kolis (Kulis), Kōlas.

The Kolis and Kōlas have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Saṇskrit works contain their name in connection generally with Pāṇḍya, Kērala and Cōla, the sons of Akrīḍa and descendants of Dusyanta. The term *Kōli* occurs in Kōlisarpāḥ, instead of which the manuscript used by M. Langlois contained probably *Kōlāḥ Sarpāḥ* or *Kōlasarpāḥ*, as he translates the passage by : " les Colas, les Sarpas." The Kōlis appear likewise in Sanskrit inscriptions. The name of the Kōlas can be traced in that of the country *Kōlañca*, which has, according to the Śabdaratnāvali, Kānyakubja as its capital, or which, according to Horace Hayman Wilson, is identical with Kaliṅga.

The word Kōla forms also part of Sanskrit names of various peoples, plants, countries and mountains, as of Kōlagiri, Kōllagiri, Kōlāhala, Kōllaka and Kōlvagiri, &c. We meet it even in South-Indian names of places, *e.g.*, in Kōlam, Kōlanāḍu, Kōlattanāḍu and others.

I regard the name *Cōla* or *Cōḍa* (in Telugu and Kanarese *Cōḷa*, and in Tamil and Malayālam *Cōḷa*) as a modification of the word *Kōla*. It is a remarkable historical fact that the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas were as a rule rival kings who fought continually against each other. With the various formations of the terms Kōla, Cōla, and Cōḍa may be compared those of Kēra, Cēra and Cēḍa. The expressions Cēra and Koṅgu are occasionally used identically.

The first syllable *ko* in Kōla and Koli indicates the mountain home, while the second syllable *la* or *li*

the particular tribal distinction. The interchange between *l* and *r* produces *Kori* (Kohri) as a variation of Koli.[30]

The Kolis and Kōlas, as has already been pointed out, should be distinguished from the so-called Kolarian Kols. In consequence of the near relation of the Kolis to the Bhīls and Gonds, hardly any doubt can be entertained about their belonging to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidians. The establishment of this ancient kinship is an important fact. It severs the connection between the Kolis

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[30] *Kōlañca* means originally a country adjoining *Kōla*. The late Mr. C. P. Brown explained *Kōladēśamu*, కోలదేశము, as the long country, which interpretation is obviously erroneous when applied to the Sanskrit word *Kōla*.

Kōlagiri is a mountain in Southern India. The commentator Mallinātha is surnamed Kōlagiri. The *Sabhāparva* says in ślōka 1171: "Kṛtsnam Kōlagirim caiva Surabhīpattanam tatha." The Kōllagiri occurs in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 13:

Karṇāṭa-Mahāṭavi-Citrakūṭa-Nāsikya-Kōllagiri-Cōlāḥ
Krauñcadvīpa-Jaṭādhara-Kāvēryō-Riṣyamūkaśca.

The Kaullagirēyas fought according to the Aśvamēdha with Arjuna:

Arcitaḥ prayayau bhūmau dakṣiṇam salilārṇavam
Tatrapi Drāviḍair Āndhrair Auḍraiṙ Māhiṣakair api.
Tatha Kaullagirēyaiśca yuddham āsīt Kirīṭinaḥ.

About *Kōlāhala* compare General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, pp. 123, 125.

Compare what is said about the town *Kollagira* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 23, note 22: "it appears that Kollagira was another name of Kollāpura or Kōlhāpur." See *ibidem*, vol. III, pp. 209, 210 in the article "The Geography of Ibn Batuta's Indian Travels," by Col. H. Yule: "The Koil prince must be the *Kola-vīri* or Cherakal Rāja, whose kingdom was called *Kola-nāda*." About *Kolatta-nāḍu*, the district about Tellicherry, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, pp. 115, 146. Compare also Dr. Gundert's *Malayalam and English Dictionary*, p. 318, under *Kōlam*: "4. North Malabar, subject to Kōlattiri or Kōlaswarūpam."

About the Cēra or Koṅgu kings confer among others the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 155, 271; vol. V, pp. 133-140; vol. VI, pp. 99-103.

About the change of the *l* into *r* in words like *Koli* compare General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 101: "I paid a visit to the old site of *Koron*, or *Korāwa-dih*, because the people agreed in stating that the old name of the place was *Kolpur*, which I thought might perhaps be connected with the old city of *Koli*, the birth-place of Māyādevi. But . . the position of *Korondih* . . . is much too distant to be identified with that of *Koli*." Compare also the late Mr. John A. C. Boswell's *Manual of the Nellore District*, p. 157: "The Yerukalas in this district state that their [illegible] in their own language is *Kurru*, also *Kola*."

and Kols, which is still occasionally asserted to exist and to which I have repeatedly alluded.

The Kolis appear originally as mountaineers, but afterwards descending to the plains, some settled down as agriculturists, while many others selecting the seashore became fishermen and sailors.[31]

The Koli mountaineers were not long ago the guardians of the hill-passes, especially of those in the Ajanta range and in the Western Ghats. Their ancient position as lords of the mountains is to this day certified by the fact that the

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[31] See C. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, p. 137 (or 108): "*Bhilla* sitzen hier noch in dem Gränzgebirge nach Malva, Rajputâna und südlicher; ein grosser Theil der Bevölkerung besteht aus einem andern ursprünglich ähnlichen Volke, den Kuli (*Kôla*), welches aber Brahmanische Sitten dem grössern Theile nach angenommen hat." Compare further Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, pp. 307–316.

Sir George Campbell remarks in his *Ethnology of India* about the Koolees on pp. 42–45 as follows: "I find, however, that the opinion of those qualified to judge seems to tend to the belief that there is no essential difference between the two tribes (the Koolees and Bheels). Forbes in his Ras Mala says. 'Koolees or Bheels, for though the former would resent the classification, the distinctions between them need not be here noticed.' Captain Probyn says: 'I think there is no actual difference between Koolees and Bheels. Their religion is the same.' Mr. Ashburner: 'There is no real difference between Bheels and Koolees; their habits, physiognomy and mode of life are the same, modified by local circumstances.' And the Rev. Mr. Dunlop Moore says: 'Koolees frequently marry Bheel wives.' Other authorities, however, say that they do not intermarry. They both seem to claim a northern and not a southern origin, pointing to the hills of Rajpootana and the north of Goozerat. The Bheels say that they were originally called Kaiyos; Sir John Malcolm says that they are related to the Meenas of Rajpootana, and once ruled in the Jeypore country. Forbes again tells us that the Koolees were originally called Mairs, while in Rajpootana, Col. Tod speaks of Mairs or Meenas as one race . . . Though probably in the main of the same class and similar origin, the Koolees and Bheels are now quite distinct tribes, and there is this considerable difference that the Koolees have come much more into contact with Aryan blood civilization . . . The Koolees are the Aborigines of Goozerat (where they now live in considerable number), and of the hills adjoining that Province. The hills east of Goozerat are called 'Kolwan' and seem to be the property of Koolee tribes . . . The Bheels are the proper possessors of the hills farther in the interior and east of the Koolees . . . The Koolees seem to be scattered down the Coast country nearly as far as Goa, and north again into the 'Thurr' and the neighbourhood of Scinde. While the wilder Koolees of the hills are like the Bheels,

famous sanctuary at Mahābalēśvara is under the hereditary wardenship of Kolis.

Many shrines throughout India are associated with the lowest classes of the population, as we have seen, when speaking of the temples at Mēlkōṭa, Puri and Trevandrum. The sanctuary at Mahābalēśvara over a spring which is supposed to be the source of the Krishṇa, though said to have been founded by a Sattara Brahman, named Anagaḍā, is under the hereditary superintendence of a Koli family, and the chief official in charge is a Koli. Such a Koli is called Gaṅgāputra, and whatever offerings a worshipper makes after bathing form the perquisite of the Kolis and are taken by them. "At the temple of Mahābalēśvara also," thus writes the Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick, "the Kolis "hold a hereditary position, and the Guravas, who worship "the *Linga* in that temple, appear more closely allied to the "hill tribes than to the inhabitants of the plains; they (*i.e.*, "the *Guravas*) have, however, no connection with the shrine "of the Krishṇá, where the Kolis alone are the principal

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the mass of more civilised Koolees are said to be not only fairer and more Caucasian in feature, but also more sly and cunning and less truthful . . The wilder tribes of the race are still predatory, and Forbes mentions the Koolees as by far the most numerous of the arm-bearing castes who in former days, living in the hills between Goozerat and Rajpootana, disturbed the country. He describes them as of diminutive stature, with eyes which bore an expression of liveliness and cunning, clothes few, arms bows and arrows, habits swift and active, bold in assault, but rapid in flying to the jungles, independent in spirit, robbers, averse to industry, addicted to drunkenness, and quarrelsome when intoxicated; formidable in anarchy, but incapable of uniting among themselves. This description seems exceedingly well to apply to the wild Bheels of modern days, whom indeed Forbes classes with the Koolees . . . Lassen in his map places Koolees (Kolas he calls them) in the centre of Kattywar . . . The Kolees of the Simla hills and Domes of Kurnaon are merely inferior castes living among the general population."

Compare the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, Bombay 1884, p. 280: "The Kolis belong to the aborigines, and are of low but respectable caste. They are divided into the Kolis of the hilly countries, and the Kolis of the plains. They are also arranged in separate tribes, and were formerly very troublesome. Several tribes of Kolis guarded the passes of the Ajanta range under their own Náiks, while others attached themselves to the Bhils; but the majority have long settled down to peaceful callings, and the land-holding Kolis

"officers in charge."[32] The origin of the famous Mahābalēśvara temple is ascribed to the Paulastya Rāvaṇa. He compelled Śiva, so runs the tradition, by his severe penance on the mountain Kailāsa, to surrender to him his *Prāṇa Liṅga*. The terrified gods tried every means to regain it, but their attempts were fruitless. At last Viṣṇu raised his *Cakra* to prevent the sun-rays from descending to the earth, and Rāvaṇa, who was then at Gōkarṇa, believing that the sun was setting prepared to perform his Sandhyāvandanam. But the *Prāṇa Liṅga*, which he carried in his hand, prevented him from performing properly his worship. He, therefore, requested *Gaṇapati* to take temporary charge of the Liṅga. The god assented, but pretending that the Liṅga was too heavy placed it on the ground. Once there, it remained fixed in spite of all the attempts of the Rākṣasa to remove it. When trying for the fifth time he cried as his strength was failing: "*O Mahābala*," O great power! which expression is said to have given the name to the place.[33]

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deny all affinity with those of the hills. In the village establishment, the Koli is most generally associated with the occupation of a water-carrier, and the Kunbi drinks water from his hands. He is known by his *chumli*, or twisted cloth which he wears on his head in order to rest the waterpot; but he is often a good farmer, or is engaged as a musician, handicraftsman, weaver, palanquin bearer, fisher, labourer... They use meat, drink spirits, bury their dead, worship Khandobá, Bairobá, and Bhaváni, and employ Bráhmans for religious ceremonies, but have also priests of their own." See *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions*, compiled by Syed Hossain Bilgrami, B.A., and C. Willmott, Bombay, 1883, vol. I, p. 310: "At one time they (the Kolis) acted as guards in the hill passes on the northern frontier and in the Ajanta hills; there is a tribe of Kolis who had charge of the Ghaut passes." The Kambali Kurumbas make and wear chamlis (kambalis) in the same manner; see p. 229, n. 107.

I agree with Sir George Campbell so far as their relationship with the Bhils is concerned, the latter I have proved to be Dravidians, see pp. 19, 79-85.

[32] See "The Shrine of the River Krishnā at the Village of Mahábaléśvara," by Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Nárayan Mandlick in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IX, pp. 250-261.

[33] See *ibidem*, pp. 257, 258. Compare also *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, pp. 143, 144, about Rāvaṇa's connection with the liṅga of "Mahadeo Rāvaṇeśvara."

The connection of the ancient hill tribes with many celebrated Indian shrines is also admitted by the Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick. "The above tradition of Gokarṇa," he says, "points out to the origin of these places of Liṅga worship "by the influence of, if not amongst, the wild tribes of the "mountains of whom Rāvaṇa is a fair representative. The "actual position of the Kolis at the temples of the Krishṇā "and also at Mahābaleśvara, appears to confirm the above "conclusion. The serpent is connected with both these "temples, and from the *Liṅga* temples he seems to be quite "inseparable. In the latter he is represented as being coiled "round the *Liṅga*, while in the temple of the Krishṇā, a living "one is supposed to be guarding its sources." [34]

The most accurate description of the Kolis has been written by Captain A. Macintosh, to whose account we owe, in fact, the greater part of our information about these people. Yet, he is compelled to admit: "We cannot "expect to glean much authentic information of an historical "description from an ignorant and unlettered people like the "Kolis. The few traditions they possess relative to their first "settlement in their present locations and of subsequent

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Read also Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Journey from Madrás through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition, vol. II, p. 316. "*Gaukarna*, or the cow's horn (?), is a place of great note among the Brahmans, owing to a celebrated image of *Siva* called *Mahabaleswara*. The image is said to have been brought from the mountain *Coila* by *Ravana*, king of *Lanca*. He wished to carry it to his capital; but having put it down here, the idol became fixed in the place, where it stands to this day."

[34] The Kanara people regard *Gōkarṇa* as holier than Benares; for they say:

Gōkarṇam ca mahākāśī viśvanātho mahābalaḥ
Kōtitīrtham ca Gaṅgāyāḥ samudram adhikam phalam;"

according to the *Journal of the Bombay Royal Asiatic*, vol. IX, p. 258. Compare in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 247, 248, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha's account of the legend concerning the liṅga of *Wālukeśvara*, the present Malabar Hill, with which liṅga the Kolis seem also to be connected: "The Kolis, who, as will be shown hereafter, were the original inhabitants of Bombay, pay special devotion to this *liṅga* .... (their) principal quarter in the whole Koṅkan, I suppose, is Kūlāba."

"events until within the last century appear to be involved in "much obscurity and confusion." The late Mr. Alexander Kinloch Forbes mentions in his *Rās Mālā* the legendary descent of the Kolis from Yuvanāśva, the father of Māndhātṛ.[35]

Captain Macintosh repeatedly mentions in his *Account* the great veneration in which the Kolis hold the well-known

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[35] See "An Account of the Tribe of the Mhadeo Kolies," by Captain A. Macintosh, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. V., pp. 71–172, 238–279; compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 154; vol. III, pp. 76, 77, 126, 127, 186–196, 222, 224, 227, 228, 248; vol. V, p. 8, and Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India* in the Appendix to vol. XXXV, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pp. 46, 53, 123, 125.

In the *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, pp. 78-79, we read: "A similar fabulous descent is given to the Koolees from Youwanashwa, the father of Mandhata Raja. Their ancestor, Koolee, was brought up by a sage in the forest, and always led a jungle life, whence it happened, as the bard says, that his descendants, though in the towns they are of little importance, are *lions in the jungle*. The Koolees lived for a long time on the sea-shore, in the neighbourhood of the Indus, but they were removed to the country about the Null by the goddess Hinglāz, and brought with them the earth-nut called 'beerd,' which even in famine does not fail. They were called at this time Mairs, as well as Koolees, and Sonung Mair was their leader. He left twelve sons, each of whom became the head of a clan . . . In these times, says the bard, there was not so great a population in Goozerat, but there was much forest, and the Bheels and Koolees lived in security. They were doubtless then, as now, hereditary and professional plunderers, 'soldiers of the night,' as they describe themselves. Raja Kurun Solunkee is the first ruler of Goozerat on record who devoted his attention to putting a curb upon these wild tribes."

Captain Macintosh derived the term *Kūli* from the Koli tribe. He writes in a note on p.71: "On a former occasion, I ventured to derive the term *Cooly*, applied by us to porters, labourers or persons who work for hire, in the following manner—as the fishermen, boatmen, and many of the common labourers, at Bombay, and along the coast, are Kolies, the term *Cooly* may have originated among the English at Bombay. A passenger coming ashore, when a ship arrived from Europe, might have wished to give a box or package in charge to a native (probably a person of rank or caste); he would say, or a servant in attendance might say, that he would fetch a Koly, or a certain number of Kolies, to take 'master's baggage' to the shore. Thus the term would have become familiar, and, in the course of time, would be indiscriminately applied to all porters or labourers, and soon have spread among the few English settled in India in those days."

In the above-mentioned *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* is on p. 192 the expression *Cooly* also connected with the Kolis: "The origin of the word appears to have been a *nomen gentile*, the name (*Kolī*) of a race or caste in Western India, who have long performed such offices as have been mentioned . . According to Dr. H. V. Carter, the *Kolīs*

Khaṇḍōbā, whom I consider as a national deity of the Gaudian Khands.[36]

The Kolis have among them a tradition, according to which they are the descendants of the famous Vālmīki, the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa. It may be that the similarity of the profession embraced by Vālmīki—previously to his becoming a poet—and by the Kolis, has something to do with this belief. Both are celebrated as robbers.[37]

According to the last census report, the Kolis number 2,488,372 souls: 1,669,302 live in Bombay, 429,688 in Baroda, 213,966 in Hyderabad, and 123,171 in the Punjab, &c.[38]

The *Kohlis* in Bhandāra and Chanda, who are agriculturists, have a distinct Gond type, and have retained many Gond customs.[39]

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proper are a true hill-people whose especial locality lies in the Western Ghats, and in the northern extension of that range, between 18° and 24° N. latitude." I have referred on p. 131, n. 28, to another passage of this article in the *Glossary*.

I have already on p. 131 declared myself against this explanation. Though it is a matter of minor importance, I may observe as an additional proof that the tribal name is always pronounced *Koli*, and not *Kūli*.

[36] See *ibidem*, p. 106: "The Kolies pay their adorations to all the Hindoo deities, but their chief object of worship is Khundy-row, commonly called Khundobah."

[37] See *ibidem*, p. 82: "One of the descendants of Neeshad and a female shoodur, were the parents of the Poolkuss; and a male of the Neeshad lineage and a female of the Poolkuss family, were the parents of the Koly. He was to subsist, by killing whatever animals he encountered in the jungles and forests. It may further be stated, that the Kolies say that they are the descendants of Valmik, the distinguished author of the Ramayan, who, although of Brahman parentage, and born at Veer Walla, twenty-four miles south-east of Poona, it is said, followed the life of a Koly." About the Koolees or Bheels see Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 46.

[38] According to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 233, the late Rev. Dr. John Wilson derived the name of the Kolis from the Sanskrit word *kula*, a clan. I need not dilate on the groundlessness of this etymology. Compare p. 133.

[39] See Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 109: "They have a remarkable faculty for selecting the best sites for irrigation reservoirs; and to possess a large tank is their highest ambition. On the lands watered by these tanks they cultivate sugar-cane and rice."

I believe that the *Koris* (Kohris) are of the same extraction as the Kolis. The former are said to have emigrated from Benares, in the train of a Bhonsla prince of the Chandah branch.[40] I am also inclined to connect the *Koiris* of Bengal with both these tribes.[41]

Whether there exists any connection between the Kolis and the Gaulis is doubtful. As was the case with *Gauḍa*, so also is the term *Gauli* differently interpreted. Some derive the name *Gauli* from the Sanskrit word *go*, cow, and explain *Gauli* to signify cowherd, others connect it with *Koli*. It is even possible that both derivations are right, and that the term *Gauli* represents originally two different, but equal-sounding words; one being derived from *Koli* and the other from *gō*. In the first case it has an ethnological and in the other a professional meaning. To those Gaulis who are cowmen both terms are

[40] See *ibidem*, pp. 107, 108: "They produce sugar-cane in large quantities, the production of which is chiefly in their hands. The tribe has distinguished itself for its great enterprise and energy in the excavation of noble tanks and in the formation of numerous embankments." According to the census of 1881, the Koris amount to 946,851, 843,422 of whom are found in the North-Western Provinces, 48,826 in the Central Provinces, and 43,565 in Bengal. Compare Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, pp. 61, 137, 181, 194 and 438 on the Koris (Kohris).

[41] Compare Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 320, 321: "In some districts the Koiris appear to be more numerous than the Kūrmis. The distinction between them is, that the former are generally market gardeners as well as agriculturists. Buchanan estimated that there were 30,000 families of Koiris in the Shahabad District, and 45,000 families in Bihar, ... A learned pandit informs me that the derivation of the name is *ku*, earth, and *ari*, enemy. They are so called from their constant attacks on the soil. Koiris, men and women, are always troubling it. . . Every three years they make offerings on a hill known as the Marang Būru of the Kols, the god that is invoked by the aborigines, especially when rain does not fall in due season." See also Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 325, 326: "These (the Koeris) and the Kumbhis are the great agricultural classes of these provinces. . . The Koeris and Kumbhis are agriculturists by profession. . . The Koeris are the principal growers of poppy, and producers of opium, both in Benares and Behar. . . The Koeris are numerous in the district of Jhānsi, where they pursue the occupation of weaving. Their tradition is, that they came from Benares about seven hundred years ago." The census report of 1881 mentions 3,067 Koeris in Assam and 1,204,884 Koeris in Bengal. Rev. Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 107.

applicable. The Mahadeo Kolis assert that their ancestors subdued the Gaulis, and to these are also ascribed most of the earlier graves. The Gauli chiefs, according to tradition, ruled in the Central Provinces long before the Gond Rājas. I believe that future enquiry will prove that the Gauli Rājas were not Aryans, but that they, like other tribes similarly named, belonged to the Gaudian race.[42]

I must not omit to mention here the ancient tribes of the *Kulinda, Kulūta*, (Kōlūta, Kōlūka) and *Kaulūta* (Kaulubha), who inhabited the high mountain ranges of the Himālaya in North India. Their names occur in one form or other in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Mudrārākṣasa and elsewhere in Sanskrit literature, while Ptolemy's *Κυλινδρινή* (Kylindrinē, VII. 1, 42) coincides in position with the country which some of these tribes formerly

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[42] Refer to pp. 114 and 116, n. 12, where the *Gaulas* are mentioned.

See Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 301: "Among the people (of Nāgpur) tradition, widespread though vague, is not wanting, pointing to a time far anterior to the Gonds, when throughout Deogarh Gauli chiefs held sway. The exploits and renown of these ancient chiefs are often referred to in the songs of the villagers. There are forts too, and tanks and temples, or remnants of such structures, evidently the handiwork of races preceding the Gonds... 'It was a Gauli, not a Gond king so our father told us,' this is the common answer to all questions respecting such relics." The same legend is told about the fortifications of Rāmtek, *ibidem*, p. 428. Compare in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, pp. 204, 205, Mr. W. F. Sinclair's article on the "Gauli Raj" in Khandesh and the Central Provinces: "I think, therefore, that the most probable explanation of the *Gauli Rāj* is this,—that Gauli was the surname, or nickname, of a family of princes (and not of a nation) of Aryan race who established themselves in the valleys of the Tapti and Narmadā during the great migration southward which ended in the colonization of the Dekhan by the Aryan Marathas." Mr. Sinclair's remarks were criticized by Mr. W. Ramsay on p. 258; notice also Mr. Sinclair's query: "Hemāḍ Pant and the Gauli Rajas" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 277, 278.

Captain A. Macintosh remarks in his "Account of the Mhadeo Kolies" in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. V (1837), pp. 251-252: "There is a popular tradition among the people in this part of the country, that the Gursees were the original inhabitants of the Dukhan, and that they were displaced from the hilly tracts of the country by the race of Goullies or cowherds. These Goullies, it is said, subsequently rebelled against their lawful prince, who detached an army that continued unceasing in their exer-

occupied. The similarity of their name with that of the Kolis and of the Kulu district is therefore not accidental.[43]

CHAPTER IX.

On the Kōis, Konds, Kands, Gonds, &c.

Much as the several tribes, whose names head this chapter, differ from one another in their manners, dialects and appearance, still there exists such a general resemblance between them, that, as has been pointed out by one of the greatest geographers of our century, the late *Karl Ritter*, all these various races, however considerable may be the distances at which they live apart from one another, must be

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tions until they exterminated the entire race of Goullies . . It is a common practice with such of the inhabitants of the plains as bury their dead, as well as the hill tribes to erect thurgahs (tombs commonly of a single stone), near the graves of their parents. In the vicinity of some of the Koly villages and near the site of deserted ones, several of these thurgahs are occasionally to be seen, especially near the source of the Bhaum river. The people say they belonged to Gursees and Goullies of former times. The stones with many figures in relief roughly carved upon them, and one of these holding a drum in his hand, and in the act of beating time on it, are considered to have belonged to the Gursees who are musicians by profession. The other thurgahs with a Saloonka (one of the emblems of Mhadeo) and a [illegible] forming a circle round it, with large pots on their heads, are [illegible] monuments. This may be reckoned partly confirmatory of

[illegible] about the Gaulis also the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 136, 226,

[illegible]bout references concerning *Kulinda*, *Kulūta*, *Kōlūka*, *Kōlūta* and [illegible]a consult Böthlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*. About *Kaulubha* [illegible] Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, p. 57 (p. 75 second [illegible]ion), and vol. II, pp. 206, 207. Lassen desires to substitute for *Kaulūta* in Mudrārakṣasa *Kaulūbha* especially on the authority of Plinius who in his *Historia Naturalis*, lib. VI, cap. 22, mentions that: "Ultra (Gangem) siti sunt Modubae, Molindae. . . . *Colubae*, Orxulae, etc." In vol. I, p. 547 (661), Lassen speaks of the Kulindas: "Die *Kulinda* wohnten nach dem Epos im höchsten Himālaya und zwar ostwärts bis zu den Ganges-Quellen."

Ptolemy assigns the sources of the Vipaśa, Śatadru, Yamunā and Gaṅgā to the country *Kylindrine*: "Ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς Βιβάσιος καὶ τοῦ Ζαράδρου καὶ τοῦ Διαμούνα καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ἡ Κυλινδρινή." The inhabitants of this district were the *Kulindas*. About Kylindrine compare also Sir A. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 136–138, where it is identified with Jālandhara, whose "antiquity is undoubted, as it is mentioned by Ptolemy as

regarded as representatives of one and the same nation. They are still in occupation of nearly the whole area of that portion of the Indian continent which stretches from Khandesh on the west to Ganjam on the east.

Kōi, Kui (contracted into Ku), Gōdu, Gauḍa, Gōndu, Goandu, Gānd, Koand, Kond (Kondh, Khond) or Kand (Khand) are all derivatives, as has already been shown, from the root *Ko* or *Ku*, mountain, so that their very name indicates a mountaineer. I have previously alluded to the peculiarity that both Linguals and Dentals are used in the formation of the derivatives of *Ko*. We need not,

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Kulindrine or *Ktulindrine*, which should probably be corrected to *Sulindrine*, as the K and Σ are frequently interchanged in Greek manuscripts."

Read also in H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu-purāna* edited by F. Hall the notes on the Kulūtas (Kolūkas), vol. II, p. 174, and Kulindas, p. 180. According to H. H. Wilson the Kulindas were mountaineers, see Fr. Johnson's Selections from the Mahābharata, p. 65.

Varāhamihira mentions the *Kulūtas* in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Chapter XIV, sl. 22 and 29:

Diśi paścimōttarasyām Māṇḍavya-Tukhāra-Tālahala-Madrāḥ,
Aśmaka-*Kulūta*-Lahaḍa-Strīrājya-Nṛsiṁha-Vanakhasthāḥ. 22.
Aiśānyām Mērukanaṣṭarājya-Paśupāla-Kira-Kāśmīrāḥ.
Abhisāra-Darada-Taṅgaṇa-*Kulūta*-Sairiṇdha-Vanarāṣṭrāḥ. 29.

Sir Alexander Cunningham considers the question of t[illegible] length in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIV, pp. [illegible]

"The origin of the Kunets, who form the bulk of the po[illegible] valleys of the Bias, the Satlej and the Tons Rivers, has long [illegible] attention; and I believe that I have now solved the puzzle by id[illegible] them with the *Kunindas* or *Kulindas* of early Hindu history. Unde[illegible] these forms their name is still preserved in the districts of *Kulu* on t[illegible] and *Kunāwar* on the Satlej. The Vishnu Purāna gives the name of *Ku*[illegible] which is supported by Ptolemy's *Kulindrinæ*, a district occupying the w[illegible] of the upper tract between the Bibasis or Bias River and the Ganges. It corresponds therefore most exactly with the Kunet District of the present day. Varāha Mihira places the *Kunindas* along with the Kāshmiras, Abhisāras, Kulūtas, and Sairindhas, and makes their country one of his nine divisions of India. In another place he marks their position still more definitely as being to the east of Madras.* (*Madreso anyaseha Kauninda.*) He also speaks of the King of the Kunindas. This was about A.D. 560, but we have coins of the King of Kuninda (*Rājnya Kunindasa*), which date before the Christian era. For *Kauninda* the Markandeya Purāna reads *Kaulinda*, which agrees with the *Kulinda* of the Vishnu Purāna. It would seem therefore that these are only two readings of the same name. This conjecture is strongly supported by the fact that much more than half of

therefore, be surprised to see that the Telugu *Kōdu*, *e.g.*, corresponds to the Sanskrit *Kōṇḍa* (in Kōṇḍabhaṭṭa) and *Gōṇḍa*, though *koṇḍa* in Telugu signifies only mountain and not mountaineer, which meaning is expressed by *Koṇḍarudu*.[44]

The principal Gond tribes call themselves *Kōitor*. Telugu people regard the last syllable *tor* of this term as identical with the word *dora*, master, which is not improbable, as the Kōis affix this term to names, *e.g.*, Bhīma is called by them Bhīmadur. The Kōis of the Bhadrācala and Rēkapalli taluks in the Upper Gōdāvarī district are called *Doralu* (masters) only by their Mala and Mādiga servants, for this title is otherwise generally conceded only to the Velama land-owners.

It is a well-known fact that a word often loses its original meaning when it is used as a proper name. *Kōi* designates

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the population of Kulu is Kunet. . . . I have now traced the Kaunindas up to the third century B.C., when they were a rich and powerful people. But there is still earlier mention of the people in the Mahābhārata, where the Kulindas are said to have been conquered by Arjuna. From the context Wilson rightly concluded that they were mountaineers and neighbours of the Traigarttas or people of Kangra. In the Vishnu Purāna I find not only the *Kulindas* but also *Kulindopatyakas* or 'Kulindas dwelling along the foot of the hills,' which describes exactly the tract of plain country bordering the hills in which Srughna, the capital of the Kaunindas, was situated." About *Kulu* or *Kullu* see Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. V, pp. 465-469: "The character of the hill-men resembles that of most other mountaineers in its mixture of simplicity, independence, and superstition. Polyandry still prevails in Scoraj, but has almost died out elsewhere. It consists simply of a community of wives amongst brothers, who hold all their other goods in common, and regard their women as labourers on the farm. The temples usually occupy picturesque sites, and are dedicated rather to local deities than to the greater gods of the Hindu Pantheon."

Compare also Mr. J. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 105, 109, 110.

[44] The Telugu people call the Gonds, Konds or Kands, *Kōya*, *Kōyavādu* (pl. Kōyavaṇḍlu), *Kōdu* (pl. Kōdulu), *Gōndu*, *Koṇḍarudu*, &c. We read in Lieutenant Macpherson's *Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack*, Calcutta, 1842, p. 20, § 42, the following account: "The Hindu name for this people which we have adopted, *Khond*, in the plural *Khondooloo*, means mountaineer, from the Teloogoo word signifying a *hill*. Their sole native appellation south of the *Mahanuddee* is *Koinga* or *Kwinga*, which may be a corruption of *Kulinga*, which, by the exchange of convertible letters may be *Pulinda*, meaning in Sanskrit and thence in Tamil *a bar-*

thus a mountaineer, but this radical meaning of the term is forgotten by that tribe when some of them had settled permanently in the plains. The Malvah or Gutta-Kōis (Hill-Kōis) are in consequence distinguished from the Sassi-Kōis (Plain-Kōis). The Khonds, on the other hand, call their own country *Kui Dina* or *Ḳui Pruti*, and that of the Uriyas *Sassi Dina*.

The Kōis worship as deities Kātūradu, Adamarāju, Korrarāju (who governs the tigers), Kommalamma, Sārlamma, and others. The five Pāṇḍava brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhīma, are highly revered. They have imitated the step of Bhīma in their dance. The Kōis or Kōyas in the Nizam's Dominions preserve a legend according to which they are descended from Bhīma and a wild superhuman woman whom he met in the woods.[45]

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barian, a savage mountaineer . . . They employ as distinctive *epithets* of their race, the terms—*Subboro* and *Mullaro*, the latter signifying *hill people*, from a root common to Tamul and Teloogoo, the Khonds designate the alpine portions of Orissa solely by its Hindu name (from the root) 'Malwa,' meaning *highlands*. The Hindu people they call *Sassi*, a word whose signification is not ascertained. The Khonds, who inhabit the mountains are styled *Maliah Koinga*, those of the low country *Sassi Koinga*."

The fifth volume of the *Calcutta Review* (January—June 1846) contains on p. 26 the following note: "Respecting the name of Khonds, Lieutenant Hill remarks, that, in their own language, 'they call themselves *Knee*. A single Khond is called Kwinga. By Uriyas, they are called *Khonds* and by the Telingas, Kodūlū and often Kodūwanulū or hill people." According to Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Orissa*, vol. II, p. 71: "The word Kandh, like Mali and the tribal names of other hill tribes, means in the aboriginal languages 'mountaineer.'"

About the Gānds or Gāndas consult Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, pp. 100, 103, 247, 251, 412, 413, and 457. They cultivate some land in Rāigarh, Lāira and Sambalpur, but they seem not to be regarded as good cultivators. The population of Lāira is chiefly agricultural and consists of Gonds, Khonds and Gāndas. On the other hand the Gāndas are generally classified as weavers. Their number in the Central Provinces amounts to 250,133.

Kōinga is the plural of Kōi, *nga* being the plural termination in the Koud language. A similar termination exists in the Koi language on the Gōdāvarī, *e.g.*, *māra*, tree, pl. marāṅgu; *goggōḍi*, cock, goggōḍiṅgu; *baṇḍi*, carriage, baṇḍiṅgu; *goḍḍēli*, axe, goḍḍeliṅgu.

[45] See the Rev. John Cain's articles on "The Bhadrāchallam and Rekapalli Tālukās, Godāvarī District," in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, pp. 301-

The four tribes to whom the title *Kōitor* is applied are the Rāj Gond, Raghuwal, Padal and Dholi, and occasionally

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303, 357–359; vol. VIII, pp. 33–36, 219–221; and vol. X, pp. 259–264. Read *ibidem*, vol. V, pp. 358, 359: "Formerly on a certain day in the year the *Koi* men of each village were driven into the jungle by the women to hunt, and were not allowed to return unless they brought home some game,—a small bird, or even a rat, being enough to give them the right to be welcomed back. This practice is still carried on by the *Kois* in the Bastar country, and also by many in the Nizām's territory. Mr. Vanstavern, whilst boring for coal at Beddadanolu, was visited on that day by all the Koi women of the village, dressed up in their lords' clothes, and they told him that they had that morning driven their husbands to the forest to bring home game of some kind or other. Mr. Vanstavern also states that the Kois round Beddadanolu do not eat the goat annually offered for a prosperous harvest, but leave it to itself in the jungle tied up to a tree.

"The *Kois* say that the following gods and goddesses were appointed to be worshipped by the Śūdras:—*Muttelamma, Maridimahālakshmī, Poturāzu*, and *Korrazulu*, and the following were to receive adoration from the Kois:—*Kommalamma, Kātūradu, Adamarazu*. The goddess Māmili or Lēle must be propitiated early in the year, or else the crops will undoubtedly fail; and she is said to be very partial to human victims . . . All the Kois seem to hold in great respect the *Pāṇḍava* brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhima. The wild dogs or *dhols* are regarded as the *dūtas* or messengers of these brothers, and the long black beetles which appear in large numbers at the beginning of the hot weather are called the Pāṇḍava flock of goats. Of course they would on no account attempt to kill a *dhol*, even though it should happen to attack their favourite calf, and they even regard it imprudent to interfere with these *dūtas* when they wish to feast upon their cattle." In vol. VIII, p. 34, we read: "They say their dance is copied from *Bhīma's* march after a certain enemy. There is no Koi temple in any village near here, and the *Kois* are seldom if ever to be found near a Hindu temple."

In the Jeypore territory of the Vizagapatam district a similar practice to the abovementioned prevails. The men are often away for days in search of game, and if they return with none of an evening their women pet them with cow-dung.

The *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions* remarks in vol. I. pp. 325, 326, about the Kōis as follows:—"The *Koyas* or *Kois* (45,300) are an aboriginal race, found chiefly in the Khamam District (39,990). They belong to the same family as the Gonds and the other primitive races of Central and Southern India. The Kois say that 'they are the descendants of Bhimadur, and the local tradition is that when Bhimadur accompanied his brother Dharma Ragu to his forest exile he one day went hunting in the jungle, and there met a wild woman of the woods, whom he fell in love with and married. The fruit of their union was the Koi people. The tradition further states that this wild woman was not a human being.' The language spoken by them is similar in some respects to that of the Gonds. Like the latter they are noted for their truthful habits . . . The fruit of the Ippa tree is dried and reduced to powder. This made into cakes and porridge forms their favourite and principal food for the greater part of

the Kolam. The Marias who are likewise styled Kōitur, represent perhaps now the purest type of the Gonds.[46]

In ancient times these people occupied a much larger portion of India than they do now. Their name appears in places far distant from one another, in the north, *e.g.*, in *Goṇḍa* or *Gauḍa* in Oudh, in *Khandwa* in the Central Provinces, in *Gondāl* in Kāṭhiawār, in *Khandesh* and *Khandāla* in Bombay, in *Gondvāna* in Central India, while *Khaṇḍagiri* and *Khaṇḍapāra* testify to their presence in Orissa. Even

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the year. They also distil great quantities of an intoxicating drink from the flowers; they will eat the flesh of every animal, not even rejecting that of the cow. They seldom remain long in one place, as soon as the productive powers of the soil are exhausted they move to another spot and make a fresh clearing. They have no caste, their religion consists of belief in one Supreme Being, they also worship the spirits of the mountains and a divinity who protects them from the ravages of tigers. They regard heaven as a large and strong fort where there is an abundance of rice stored up for those who are permitted to enter. Hell is a place in which an iron cow continually gnaws the flesh of the unfortunate persons detained there. Widows' remarriages are allowed. Their wedding ceremonies are exceedingly simple; the betrothed couple have a triangular mark placed on their foreheads, they then kneel together, and the ceremony is completed by pouring water over the heads of both. The personal appearance of both sexes is the reverse of prepossessing."

[46] *The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, edited by Mr. Charles Grant, contains on pp. 137 and 500 the following statements: "The Marias, or as they are called towards the north the Kohitūrs . . are in all probability the purest type of Gond. It is worthy of note that in villages bordering upon the more cultivated tracts the change of name from Māria to Kohitūr, then to Jangli Gond, and then to Gond, can be seen in progress, and it is easy to imagine that a well-to-do Māriā family calling themselves Gond might in two or three generations adopt the more fashionable style of Rāj Gond (p. 137). . Gotēs and Kois, or as they are commonly called Gotēwārs and Koiwārs—the termination *wār* being a Telugu affix, signifying person or man—are the aborigines of the country (Upper Godāvarī). Although almost identical in customs and in language, they do not eat together or intermarry, the Kois claiming superiority over the Gotēs. The proper name for the Kois is 'Koitor,' and this is what they call themselves. By the Telingas they are called Koidhoras, the word 'dhora' meaning gentleman or sāhib. This error has probably arisen from the last syllable of 'Koitor' having been taken for 'dhora,' owing to the similarity of sound. The Kois, where they come into contact with the Telinga population, have adopted many of their customs. . The Gotē keeps more aloof from civilisation; but . . the customs of the two races are very similar, and both belong to the Gond family (p. 500)." Compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 34: "The custom of calling the Kois *doralu* (*dora* = lord, Tel.) has

now these tribes are found in all the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, though their chief abode is in the Central Provinces.[47]

The Uriyas aspirate the final *d*, hence the name is often spelt Kondh or Kandh, but this pronunciation is only local.

Wherever the Gonds, Konds, or Kands are found in their own homesteads, far from strangers, they have preserved their national virtues, among which honesty, fidelity, and hospitality occupy a prominent position. Like many other wild tribes they are brave, but they are also cruel and very superstitious. In those parts of the country where they dwell, the simple-minded Gonds are feared as dangerous sorcerers and intimate friends of the evil spirits.

About the *Religious Doctrines* of the Khonds Captain Macpherson makes the following remarks: "There is one Supreme

been traced by some (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, p. 500) to the ending *tor* in the word *Koitor*. This has always seemed to me (Rev. Mr. Cain) rather doubtful, as this honorific affix is not only conceded to the *Kois*, but also to several other castes, *e.g.*, the (true) Vellamma caste, and to all the most influential natives in the independent or semi-independent neighbouring states." The Gonds in the Singbhūm District are called *Dorowas* or *Naiks*. See Dalton's *Ethnology*, p. 277, and Grant's *Gazetteer*, p. 137. Elsewhere in Narasingpur are found the Dhur Gonds which term appears to be identical with the Dhurwe or Naik Gonds. I wonder what is the meaning of the term Dhur (Dhurwe or Dorowas), and whether it is connected with the word *dora*.

About the Marias consult also the *Report of the Dependency of Bustar* by Deputy Commissioner C. L. R. Glasfurd, pp. 46–52: "104. The Marias and Jhorias, I should say, are, strictly speaking, a sub-division of the true Gond family."

[47] See Lieutenant Macpherson, p. 13, § 13: "The Khonds are now seen, in "both of these situations, within the following ill-defined limits. Upon the "east they appear scattered over the wilder tracts of the Ganjam district "bordering upon the Chilka Lake, and are seen in that quarter at a few "points, upon the coast of the Bay of Bengal. They are found on the "north-west, on the confines of Gondwana, in longitude 83°, while on the "west, they extend within the unsurveyed frontier of Berar. They are "found as far south as Bustar in latitude 19° 40′, while the Zemindary of "Palconda is like that of Kunnapoor possessed by a Khond Chief on the "south-east, they are replaced on the limits of the Souradah and Moherry "districts in Ganjam, by the Sourah race, which henceforward occupies "the eastern acclivities of the Ghauts to the Godavery. To the north, "fifty miles beyond the Mahanuddee, in the meridian of Boad, they are "succeeded by the Kole people. On the north-east, the are found high

"Being, self-existing, the Source of Good, and Creator of the "Universe, of the inferior gods, and of man. This divinity "is called in some districts, Boora Pennu, or the God of "Light; in others, Bella Pennu, or the Sun God; and the "sun and the place from which it rises beyond the sea are "the chief seats of his presence. Boora Pennu, in the "beginning, created for himself a consort, who became Tari "Pennu, or the Earth Goddess, and the Source of Evil. "He afterwards created the Earth. As Boora Pennu walked "upon it with Tari, he found her wanting in affectionate "compliance and attention as a wife, and resolved to create "from its substance, a new being, Man, who should render to "him the most assiduous and devoted service, and to form "from it also every variety of animal and vegetable life "necessary to man's existence. Tari was filled with jealousy, "and attempted to prevent his purpose, but succeeded only "so far as to change the intended order of creation. . . Tari "Pennu then placed her hands over the earth, and said,

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"in Cuttack, while Sourahs (not identified with the southern race) there "inhabit the inferior ridges of the Ghauts." (Compare his "Account of the Religion of the Khonds" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 220, 221.)

Compare also *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces* left in MSS., by the late Rev. Stephen Hislop, missionary of the Free Church of Scotland at Nagpore: edited, with notes and preface, by R. Temple, C.S.I., 1866, pp. 3 and 4: "The name of Gond, or Kond, seems "to be a form of Kond, or Kund, the initial gutturals of the two words being "interchangeable. . Both forms are most probably connected with Konda— "the Teloogoo equivalent for a mountain—and therefore will signify 'the hill "people.' And no designation could be more appropriate to the localities "which the majority of them inhabit. Though they are also found residing "in the villages of the plains along with the more civilized Hindus, yet "they chiefly frequent the mountain ranges lying between 18° 40′ and 23° 40′ "north latitude, and between 78° and 82½ east longitude. This tract some- "what corresponds with the old Mahomedan division of Gondwâna, but differs "from it in not reaching so far to the east and in extending considerably "further towards the south-east. The Moghul geographers seem to have "included with the Gonds of Nagpore the Kols on their east frontier, and to "have been ignorant of the relationship between them and the inhabitants "of Bustar. In the north, Gonds are met with about Saugor and near the "source of the Hasdo; on the east, they cross that river into Sarguja, where "they border on the Kols, and are found with Konds and Uriyas in Nowa-

" ' Let these beings you have made exist; you shall create no
" more.' Whereupon Boora caused an exudation of sweat to
" proceed from his body, collected it in his hand, and threw
" it around, saying: ' To all that I have created,' and thence
" arose love, and sex, and the continuation of species. The
" creation was perfectly free from moral and physical evil.
" Man enjoyed free intercourse with the Creator. They lived
" without labour. .in perfect harmony and peace. They went
" unclothed. . .The lower animals were all perfectly innocuous.
" The Earth Goddess, highly incensed at the love shown
" towards man thus created and endowed, broke into open
" rebellion against Boora, and resolved to blast the loss of his
" new creature by the introduction into the world of every
" form of moral and physical evil. . . A few individuals of
" mankind entirely rejected evil, and remained sinless; the
" rest all yielded to its power, and fell into a state of uni-
" versal disobedience to the Deity, and fierce strife with one
" another. Boora immediately deified the sinless few without
" their suffering death. . . Upon the corrupted mass of man-

" gudda, Kareal, and Kharond or Kalahandi; in the south, they form the
" mass of the population of Bastar and a portion of the inhabitants of
" Jeypur (in the Madras Presidency), while they occupy the hills along the
" left bank of the Godavery about Nirmul; and on the west, they are inter-
" mingled with the Hindus of Berar for 30 miles from the right bank of the
" Wurdah, and, along the Kôrs, extend along the hills both north and south
" of the Narbadd to the meridian of Hindia, where they give place to the
Bhils and Nahals.

" In such a large extent of country, as might be expected, they are di-
vided into various branches, and distinguished by specific names. The
classification adopted by themselves is into twelve and a half castes or
classes, in imitation of the Hindus. These are—Raj Gond, Raghuwal,
Dadave, Katulya, Padal, Dholi, Ojhyal, Thotyal, Koilabhutal, Koikopal,
Kolam, Madyal, and an inferior sort of Padal as the half caste. The first
four, with the addition, according to some of the Kolam, are comprehended
under the name of Koitor—the Gond, *par excellence*. This term, in its
radical form of Koi, occurs over a wide area, being the name given to the
Meria-sacrificing aborigines of Orissa and to the jungle tribes skirting the
east bank of the Godavery from the apex of the delta as far up nearly as
" the mouth of the Indrawati. Its meaning is evidently associated with
" the idea of a hill; the Persian name of which, *Koh*, approaches it more
" closely than even the Teloogoo, *Konda*. I need scarcely, therefore, add

"kind, Boora Pennu inflicted high moral penalties, and.. "entirely withdrew his face and his immediate guardianship "from mankind. He made all who had fallen subject to "death.. .Universal discord and war prevailed.. .Diseases and "death came upon all creatures; snakes became venomous.. . "Man..sank into a state of abject suffering and degrada- "tion..Meanwhile, Boora and Tari contended for superiority "in fierce conflict; their terrible strife raging throughout "the earth, the sea and the sky; their chief weapons being "mountains, meteors and whirlwinds. Up to this point, the "Khonds hold the same belief; but from it, they divide into "two sects directly opposed upon the great question of the "issue of the contest betweem Boora and his rebel consort.. "The sect of Boora believe that he proved triumphant in the "contest, and, as an abiding sign of the discomfiture of "Tari, imposed the cares of childbirth upon her sex.. .The "sect of Tari hold, upon the other hand, that she re- "mained unconquered, and still maintains the struggle with "various success."[48] I give this interesting story of the

"that it has no connection with the interrogative *Koi*, as some have sup- "posed, nor has Koitor any relation to the Sanskrit *Kshatriya*, as suggested by "Sir R. Jenkins. Though there are a few of the more wealthy Koitors who "would gladly pass themselves off as Rajputs, yet the great majority of "those known by that name resent, with no small vehemene, the imputation "of belonging to any portion of the Hindu community. The sacred blood "of the twice-born, instead of being an object of ambition, is to them a "source of defilement."

The passage on the Gonds and Khonds in C. Lassen's *Indische Alterthums- kunde*, vol. I, pp. 426-432 (or pp. 373-78), should be consulted as well as those in the Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, pp. 1- 152, and vol. III, pp. 200 and 206, and Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 275-304. In the second volume of H. H. Wilson's *Vishnupurán*, published by F. Hall, p. 168, *Shanda* is read instead of Khanda.

[48] Lieutenant Macpherson gives in his report on p. 61 a list of the Khond deities and divides them into national and local deities: "In the first class are (1) Bera Pennoo or the Earth god; (2) Bella Pennoo, the Sun god, and Danzoo Pennoo, the Moon god; (3) Sunde Pennoo, the god of Limits; (4) Loha Pennoo, the Iron god or god of Arms; (5) Joogah Pennoo, the god of Small-pox; (6) Nadzoo Pennoo, or the Village deity; the universal genius loci; (7) Sora Pennoo, the Hill god, Jori Pennoo, the god of Streams, and Gossa Pennoo, the Forest god; (8) Moonda Pennoo, the Tank god;

creation of the world and the fall of man which Macpherson ascribes to the Khonds. It reminds one, however, in many of its features of the Biblical Accounts, and fills one with wonder that such an uncivilised Indian tribe as the Khonds should have so beautiful a legend of their own.

In the human sacrifices which these tribes offered up in days not long gone by, and which even now they have not altogether abandoned, they displayed an indescribable

(9) Soogoo Pennoo or Sidrojoo Pennoo, the god of Fountains; (10) Pidzoo Pennoo, the god of Rain; (11) Pilamoo Pennoo, the god of Hunting; (12) god of Births." Lieutenant (Captain) Macpherson's Report was reprinted under the title of "An Account of the Religious Opinions and Observances of the Khonds of Goomsur and Boad" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VII (1843), pp. 172-199, and "An Account of the Ghonds in Orissa" in vol. XIII, 1852, pp. 216-274 of the same journal. Besides Bura and Tari there are (pp. 226-228) "inferior gods divisible into two classes, distinguished by their origin, their attributes, and the scope of their duties and authority. The gods of the first class sprang from Boora and Tari. . . 1, Pidzu Pennu, the god of Rain. 2, Borbi Pennu, the goddess of new Vegetation and First Fruits. 3, Peteri Pennu, the God of increase. 4, Klambi Pennu, the God of the Chase. 5, Loha Pennu, the God of war. 6, Sundi Pennu, the God of Boundaries. 7, Dinga Pennu, the Judge of the dead . . . The third class of inferior deities are sprung from the Gods of the first two classes. They are the strictly minor and local deities of the Khonds . . The following are the chief of this class of gods. 1, Nadzu Pennu, the Village God. 2, Soro Pennu, the Hill God. 3, Jori Pennu, the God of Streams. 4, Tozu Pennu, the Family or House God. 5, Mounda Pennu, the Tank God. 6, Sooga Pennu, the God of Fountains. 7, Gossa Pennu, the Forest God. 8, Koosli Pennu, the God of Ravines. 9, Bhora Pennu, the God of New Fruits, produced on trees or shrubs." The two accounts differ in some respects. On pp. 243-256 : the worship of Tari Pennu is described : "In the worship paid to Tari Pennu by her votaries the Chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes, branches of tribes or villages both at social festivals held periodically, and when special occasions demand extraordinary propitiations. And besides these social offerings, the rite is performed by individuals to avert the wrath of Tari from themselves and their families." According to Mr. Grant (p. 106) the Gonds worship as a rule only "Bará Deva and Dólá Deva."

Colonel Dalton says in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, on p. 281: "The Gonds are, however, found to have one common object of worship, called, according to the linguistic peculiarities of the locality, Búra Deo, Báda Deo, or Badiál Pen. Pen and Deo mean the same, but the signification of Búra or Báda I am not sure of. Major Macpherson tells us that Búra Pen, the Kandh god, means the 'god of light . .' I was credibly informed that the Gonds of Sirgúja formerly offered human sacrifices to Búra Deo."

Mr. Glasfurd, 48-52, remarks about the religion of the tribes in *Bustar* as follows: "The Mooreas, Bhuttras, Dhakurs, Gudwas, Marias, &c., all

atrocity. Yet, as an excuse for them, it ought not to be forgotten that their peculiar ideas about right and wrong made them believe that they had acquired a right of disposing of their Meriah victims, as they had bought and paid for them. The great goddess of the Earth, their principal divinity, could only be propitiated by human blood, to grant good pastures for their flocks and rich crops for their own support. The buffalo was by some Khonds sacrificed instead of the human being. These tribes depend for their living mainly on the produce of the earth which they till, for besides hunting they do not follow any other pursuit. Trading, for instance, is unknown to them.

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worship Dunteshwaree, or, as she is sometimes called, 'Maolee,' with 'Matha Devee,' 'Bhungarma,' or 'Dholla Devee,' 'Gam Devee,' Dongur Deo,' and Bheem. The higher castes worship 'Dunteshwaree' and 'Matha Devee' with the other well-known deities of the Hindoo Pantheon. . . She is the same as Bhowance or 'Kolee' . . . Temples to Dunteshwaree or Maolee exist all over the vicinity of Jugdulpore and Duntewara. The temples to 'Matha Devee' are, perhaps, as numerous, if not more so. They are easily recognised by swings in front of the shed erected over the semblance of the goddess, which is generally a stone daubed with red, although I have more than once seen her represented by a grotesquely-carved figure dressed as a female, with a female attendant on each side . . . When small-pox appears this person (her Poojaree) becomes of great importance. . . Bhungarma, or Dholla Devee is said to be the sister of Matha Devee. She also has a swing put up before her temple, and is worshipped when cholera appears; but as small-pox is much more frequent in its visits, her worship is much neglected . . . . The Jhoorias, Mooreas, and Marias do worship the above-mentioned gods, especially towards Narayenpoor, Ubujmard, Kootroo, &c. The peculiar deity of the Jhoorias is 'Unga Deo' is represented by a piece of wood fastened to a framework made of four sticks. . . It has been the custom for the Bustar Rajahs to have a duplicate of the Jhooria 'Unga Deo' kept at Bustar. Whenever any epidemic appears, the Unga Deo at Narayenpoor is called for, and the duplicate sent in its stead. Sacrifices are made to the new arrival, and he is requested to state whether the cholera or the small-pox, as the case may be, will soon disappear . . . The Marees of 'Ubujmard' call their god 'Pen:' this word literally means god. They have several gods, which resemble the 'Unga Deo' of the Jhoorias. The most noted of those in the Maree country under Kootroo are 'Deda Maida' at Kolnar and 'Koolung Mora' at the village of Dewaloor; they are both represented by logs of wood. . . The 'Deda Maida' at Kolnar is the favorite deity of these wild people, and in the month of May there is a festival at Kolnar, at which all the Marees from far and near congregate and spend three days in dancing, and drinking, and singing. Throughout the Dependency the grossest ignorance and superstition prevail, and hold the minds of

Contact with Hindus more highly civilised exercised a remarkably deteriorating influence on the Gond tribes, who soon began to lose their own virtues and sink to a lower social condition. Harsh treatment, coupled with spiteful scorn, renders men callous and demoralises. Ignorant and uncivilised aborigines when they are under the influence of civilised and unscrupulous persons are especially subject to such degeneration. The *Caṇḍālas* are an illustration of this assertion.

They were probably the first Gaudian tribe whom the Aryan invaders reduced to abject servitude, and who became thus the prototype of the Indian helots, which condition they share with the Indian Pariahs. The word *Caṇḍāla* is evidently a modification of Kaṇḍāla, a tribe mentioned by Ptolemy.[49]

Manu stigmatises a Caṇḍāla as the offspring of a Śūdra man and a Brahman woman, which definition, fostering no

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the people, from the highest to the lowest, in miserable thraldom. The simple and unsophisticated Gond tribes are believed to be expert necromancers, 'and on the most intimate footing with evil spirits.' Considering their secluded position from civilized life, their gross ignorance, and the [illegible] they [illegible], perhaps, not to be wondered at that the [illegible] invariably impute their misfortunes to witchcraft."

[illegible]re also the article "Gonds and Kurkus," by Mr. W. Ramsay in [illegible] *Antiquary*, vol. I, pp. 128, 129: "The Gond admits none of the [illegible] divinities into his pantheon, and is moreover bound on occasions of death to slay a cow and pour its blood on the grave to ensure peace and rest for the manes of the departed. In my experience, Gonds almost always bury their dead. . . The Gond deities are numerous. . . hill tops deified are favorite objects of adoration." Mr. Ramsay treats on the same subject on pp. 348–50, and he observes: "It is worthy of remark that one of the ceremonies after a death consists in killing a cow and sprinkling its blood over the grave; in default of this it is said that the spirit of the departed refuses to rest, and returns upon earth to haunt its relatives in life." Allusions to the Gonds are also contained in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 224; vol. VI, p. 233; vol. IX, p. 140, and vol. X. p. 321.

Read also the remarks on the Khonds in Sir W. W. Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. II, pp. 67-102, 283-8, and the article "On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa" by Lieut. J. P. Frye, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVII (1860), pp. 1–38.

[49] See p. 32.

doubt the prejudices of caste by assigning to the detested offspring of such persons a despised rank, does not explain the ethnological position of the original Caṇḍālas.[50] The late Rev. Dr. John Wilson was, so far as I know, the first to recognize in the Caṇḍālas the Kandaloi of Ptolemy.[51] The name of the Caṇḍālas has great similarity with that of the Rājput *Candels* (whose Gond origin is an admitted fact), *Candas*, *Candaks*, and *Candanis*, and others. The Caṇḍālas prevail in the Gaudian districts of the North, for, of the 1,779,047 Caṇḍālas who appear in the Indian Census report, 173,532 live in Assam, 1,576,076 in Bengal, and 29,439 in the Central Provinces.

Koṇḍa is even a name common to Caṇḍālas, so that their original identity with the Gond race is likewise suggested by this circumstance.

I must also not omit to allude here to the *Kuntalas* (Kōntalas), *Kuṇḍalas* and other tribes who are mentioned in Sanskrit writings. The famous capital *Kuṇḍina* (Kuṇḍinapura) where Bhīṣma or Bhīṣmaka held his court, so celebrated

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[50] Compare Mānavadharmaśāstra, X, 12:

Śūdrādayōgavaḥ kṣatta caṇḍālaś cādhamō nṛṇām.
Vaiśyarājanyavipraśu jāyante varṇasaṅkarāḥ.

About the Caṇḍas compare also *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaṇ and J. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I, p. 481.

Consult also the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves*, by Ramappa Barkur, translated and annotated by Mr. Joseph Saldanha, Court Sheristadar at Mangalore, and printed by Dr. Shortt in the IV Part of *The Hill Tribes of Southern India*, pp. 15-37; p. 17: "Sub-division of Chandalas . . The Chandalas are subdivided as follows *a*. Hambatar or Fammadas, *b*. Panar, *c*. Hasalar, *d*. Paraiyar, *e*. Belar or Medarar, *f*. Battadar, *g*. Merar, *h*. Karajar, *i*. Asadi, *j*. Holeya, *k*. Madiga, *l*. Bakada with three sub-divisions, I. Chujana Bakada, II. Turibina Bakada, III. Goddina Bakada, *m*. Nuliga, *n*. Kappata Koragar, *o*. Soppina Koragar. (This class speak a language peculiar to themselves which they won't give out under any circumstances.")"

The Hindu Law recognizes fifteen different classes of Slaves or Caṇḍālas.

[51] Read Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. I, p. 57: "A Chaṇḍāla, the lowest of mortals, whose tribe is recognized by Ptolemy as that of the *Kandali* or *Gondali*, on the river Tapti, perhaps the Gonds—adjoining the *Phyllitae* of the same author, identified as the *Bhills*—or the *Goṇḍhalis*, still a wandering tribe of the Mahārāshtra."

by his beautiful daughter Rukminī, may perhaps be connected with the aboriginal Gond race.

Khaṇḍe Rāva (Khaṇḍōbā) or *Khaṇḍōji* is, like Bhairava, an incarnation of Śiva and much worshipped by the lower classes in the Marātha country. In that district he is every where revered as a house-hold deity and numerous temples are erected for his worship. The shepherds claim him as their tutelary deity. He is most frequently represented as riding on horseback, attended by a dog and accompanied by his wife *Malsara*, another form of Pārvatī. As he generally carries in his hand a big sword, his name is popularly derived from *khaṇḍe*, sword. I regard this explanation as very problematic, and, taking him as a representative national deity, prefer to connect his name with the aboriginal Khand people of Khandesh and its neighbourhood. It is now perhaps impossible to ascertain whether his worship is connected with the existence of a deified Khand leader. No historical record on this topic has come to us. I explain the common term Khaṇḍōbā as originating from *Khaṇḍa* (khaṇḍe) + *bā*, a familiar Marāthi form for *bāpā*, father; compare Gaṇēśa *Gaṇōbā*, Mahiṣa *Māhsōbā*, Viṭṭhala *Viṭhōbā*, Vināyaka *Vināyakōbā*, &c.[52]

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[52] About "*Koṇḍa*, a name common to Chandālas," see Rev. W. Reeve's *Canarese and English Dictionary*, revised by Dr. Sanderson, p. 326. The name of *Khaṇḍe Rāva* is in Molesworth's *Marāṭhi and English Dictionary* (second edition), p. 193, explained as: "खंडेराव, m. (खंड Sword, and राव) An incarnation of Shiva." The word खंड is peculiarly enough not found in this Marāthi dictionary in the sense of sword, though seven different meanings of this word are given on p. 191 and nine various renderings of खांड are contained on p. 202, without, however, mentioning that of sword. The Hindustāni خانڈا-*khāṇḍā*, sword, is explained as a derivation of the Sanskrit खड्ग-*khaḍga*. *Khaṇḍā* in the Kōṅkaṇa language signifies a sword. Even if this etymology is correct, it is not at all necessary that the term *khaṇḍe* in *Khaṇḍe Rāva* has the same origin. Many Indian gods carry, like *Khaṇḍōbā* a sword, but are not called after it.

The Hindu Pantheon by Edward Moor, F.R.S., Madras, 1864, contains on pp. 285, 286, an account of Khaṇḍōbā: "What I have to relate of *Kandeh Rao* is gathered chiefly from Poona Brahmans; who state, that *Siva* became incarnate in his personage for the purpose of destroying an

It is perhaps worth mentioning here that the Gaudian Koṛagas, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter, place on a hillock a stone, which they worship, while most of the

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oppressive giant, named *Mani-mal*, at a place in the Carnatic, called *Phemer*. *Parvati*, they say, under the name of *Malsara*, accompanied her lord, who appeared as a man clothed in green. .: he is generally represented with *Parvati* on horseback, attended frequently by a dog. The giant *Mani-mal* made a most desperate defence against Kandeh Rao's attack, but was at length slain: whereupon all the oppressed subjects of this giant paid adoration to *Kandeh Rao*, to the number, as the story goes, of seven Kroor of people, whence this Avatāra is called *Yehl-khut*: *Yehl*, in a dialect of the Carnatic, being seven, and *Khut*, or *Koot*, being a *Mahrata* pronunciation of Kroor (100,00,000), a hundred lakh, or ten millions." About Khandoba consult also Rev. Stevenson's article "On the Modern Deities worshipped by the Hindus in the Dekkan" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VII, pp. 105–112. "The first in order of the modern deities is Khandoba, as he is usually termed by way of respect, or more properly Khande Rāo. This name may have been given him from his breaking the hosts of his enemies, or from his wearing a particular kind of sword called in Marathi 'khanda.' His Sanskrit name is Mallāri, which has been given him from the Daitya he vanquished. This name is corrupted into Malhār. There is a legend relative to this deity called the Mallāri Mahatmya, which professes to belong to the Kshetra Kanda of the Brahmanda Purāna. It is a dialogue between Pārvati and Mahadeva, the latter of whom merely repeats what Sanat Kumāra narrated formerly to the sages engaged in performing austerities in the Naimisha forest. The scene of this romance is laid at a low range of hills called in Sanskrit the Mani Chūda (jewel cliff) and in Marathi, Khade Pathār (table-land above the cliff). The town of Jejurī, which lies about thirty miles east from Poonah, is built close to its western extremity. At this place, according to the legend, certain Brahmans were interrupted in their devotions by a Daitya called Malla, who with his brother Mani and a great army. . .beat and ill-used the Brahmans . . .In Sir John Malcolm's account of the Bhils, in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, mention is made of a powerful tribe of these freebooters, who derive their origin from a place called Toran Malla. Their remotest ancestor, in the same account, is said to have murdered a Brahman, and carried off his daughter; and one of their patriarchs, Kunda Rāna, with his brothers, to have conquered and ruled over all the surrounding country. By some one of that tribe probably the Brahmans were oppressed when they called in the aid of some other local prince called Khande Rāo . . . The Champaka Shashti is directed to be held particularly sacred to Mallāri. It is the sixth day of the increase of the moon in the month Margasirsha (November-December). This is the great day accordingly at Jejurī, where Khandoba's principal temple is. It formerly stood on the top of the hill, but on being re-edified by Malhār Rao Holkār, the first famous Maratha leader of that name, whose family god Khande Rāo was, the site was changed to a level spot, but a little way from the base of the mountain. The approach is by a pretty broad flight of stone stairs . . . The third landing-place is the platform

other Caṇḍālas of the district revere a deity called *Kandiya*, who is most probably identical with Khaṇḍōbā.[53]

In a similar way I am inclined to associate the name of the Khandesh district with *Khaṇḍa*. Khandesh can be explained as signifying the Khand country, Khaṇḍa + dēśa, *Khaṇḍadēśā* contracted into Khaṇḍēśa, Khandesh. It is also possible to interpret it as the name of the lord of the Khands, *Khaṇḍa*, + *īśá*, Khaṇḍēśa.[54]

Some religious customs can be traced to the Gonds. It is thus not unlikely that the Gondaṇa worship, in which the Marātha Brahmans and other Hindus revere Pārvatī, is of Gond origin, equally as the *Gōndaḷa* ceremony among the Kolis. In this case the tribal name of the Gaudian *Goṇḍhalis* has been substituted to call the performance after the performers, which circumstance was forgotten in course of time. The term Pariah in its wrong derivation

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of the temple... Inside there is the image of Khande Rāo and his wife Mhālsā, placed behind a Linga, which is raised a little from the floor... Although from the local nature of the worship of Khande Rāo, the surname of Rāo, and the engrafting of this worship on the more ancient adoration of the Linga, it would appear to be comparatively modern, still we cannot trace its origin by the light of authentic history."

The passage in the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 344-346, is taken from this account, to which is added the statement that "Khande Rao or Khandoba of Ujain was the great champion of Brahmanism in the seventh century of the Christian era." The authority [illegible] is unknown to me.

About the worship of *Khaṇḍōbā* compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X, p. 286, in the article *Murlīs* and *Wāghiās*.

[53] In the *Memoir of the Origin of Slaves* we read on p. 28: "The two classes of Koragars place some stone on a hillock, worship it by performing Pūja, as the god of Koragars. The remaining classes worship a deity called Kandiya and pay her vows."

[54] About the name of Khandesh compare "Rough Notes on Khāndesh" by W. F. Sinclair, Bo.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 108: "The term *Khāndesh* is of doubtful derivation. It has been supposed to refer to the title of Khān used by the Sulṭāns of Burhānpur, and has also been derived from *Kāṇh-desh*, 'land of Kṛishṇa,' (conf. Kāṇhpur); from Tān-desh, 'the land of thirst,' in allusion to its arid plains and scanty rainfall; facetiously from Kāṇṭadesh, 'the land of thorns,' in which it certainly abounds; and finally the author of the *Ayini Akbari* and other Musulmān writers allude to it as 'Khāndesh, otherwise called Dāndesh,' which might be derived from 'Dangdeśa,' the mountain and the plain. . . . I am inclined myself to

from *paṛai*, drum, offers a parallel example, as I have previously explained on p. 32.[55]

If *Gondophares* can be accepted as the actual name of the well-known Parthian king who ruled in North-Western India in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, one may possibly associate his name with that of the Gaudian or Gond tribe. However, the name appears in so many variations on coins and inscriptions that it is a difficult matter to settle. On the Greek obverse of some coins we read *Yndopherres*, which Dr. Aurel Stein inclines to identify with the Old-Persian *Vindaferna*, winning glory. On the Arian-Pāli reverse *Gudaphara* or *Gadaphara* is generally found. The name of Gondophares is of additional interest as the legend connects it with the visit of the Apostle Thomas to India. The locality of the adventures of Saint Thomas was eventually transplanted to South India; and Mailapur, now a suburb of

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believe in the derivation from Kaṇh, and to suppose that it was afterwards altered by the Musulmans to the modern form. Krishṇa, under the name of Khaṇḍobā, is at this day, and would seem to have long been, a favorite divinity in the country."

By substituting Khaṇḍobā for Kṛṣṇa Mr. Sinclair supports my theory, though Khaṇḍobā as a representation of Śiva could hardly be identical with Kṛṣṇa.

[55] See "An Account of the Mhadeo Kolies," by Captain A. Macintosh in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. V, pp. 103–111: "Whatever malady man, woman, or child, or even their cattle, may be seized with, the Kolies imagine it is [illegible] agency of some evil spirit or offended deity . . . two or three are sacrificed as a peace-offering to the goddess Bhoany (Dewee) [illegible] the gods Khundobah and Bhyroo, and the Gondhul ceremony takes place afterwards."

In H. H. Wilson's *Glossary* we read on p. 182: "*Gondana*, *Gondala*, or *Gondli*, *Gondhala*, or *Gondal*. A tumultuous festivity in honour of the goddess Devī, celebrated, even in Mysore, chiefly by Maratha Brāhmans, it being a Maratha festival (from the Mar. *Gondhala*, tumult, bustle), consisting of music, and dancing, and recitation of mythological stories . . . It is probably the same thing as the *Gondhal*."

"*Gondhalī*, incorrectly *Gondali*, and *Gondli*, or *Gondlee*, corruptly *Gonedullee*. The name of a caste, or individual of it, whose business it is to sing and dance, and perform the *Gondhal*: in some places the *Gondhali* is the village drummer, sometimes he is a vagrant musician, dancer, and tumbler, or subsists by begging."

Read also *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, vol. I, pp. 316, 317: "The *Gondhalis*.—Members of this sect..

Madras, is pointed out as the place of his last mission and of his passion. Peculiarly enough, we find that the Rāja of Mailapur, who is associated with Saint Thomas, is called *Kandappa*, a name which has some resemblance with Gandaphares, a variation of Gondophares. It must, however, be mentioned that *Kanda* or *Kandappa* is the Tamil form of Skanda, the well-known Subrahmaṇya, whose vehicle is the peacock, in Tamil *mayil*, மயில். Professor Gutschmid has identified Gundophares with Caspar, one of the three Magi who went to Bethlehem. I have already explained in my monograph on Prester John the names of the three holy kings as representing the countries whence they came. *Melchior*, king of Nubia, became thus *Malki y'ōr*, king of the Nile, *Balthasar*, king of Saba, *Bēlsazzar*, king of the Chaldaeans, and *Kaspar*, king of Tarsis in Central Asia, *Kas-bār*, the ruler of the Casia regio.[56]

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are distributed chiefly in the Bider, Naldrug, Aurangabad, Birh and Nandair districts. They are usually attached to temples, though some are wandering mendicants. Numbers of them are found at Tuljapur. They perform what is known as the Gondhal ceremony at the houses of Brahmins in the Dasara, Hanuman's birthday and the cocoanut holidays. This ceremony can only be performed by married members of the sect, and those so entitled to perform it wear a string of cowries round their necks. They bury their dead and shave their beards as a sign of mourning." See *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, p. 309: "They dance at Hindu weddings with a lighted torch in their hands."

Compare note 51 on p. 156.

[56] The variations of Gondaphares are: Gandophares, Gundopharus, Gundoforus, Yndopheres, Gudaphara, Gadaphara, Godaphara.

See on this subject *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, by Percy Gardner, LL.D., edited by R. S. Poole, LL.D.; Introduction, pp. xliii, xlvi, lxxiii, 103–107, 174. With respect to dental and lingual *d* the editor makes on p. lxx the remark: "I cannot distinguish on the coins between *na* and *ṇa*, *da* and *ḍa*." The nasal in *Gu* (*Ga* or *Go*) *daphara* has been omitted as in the name of Menander, which is spelt *Menadra*.

Read also Dr. M. Aurel Stein's *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, p. 13.

Among the articles of the pioneers of Indian Archæology consult T. Prinsep's *Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent Discoveries in Afghanistan*, London, 1844, and his *Essays on Indian Antiquities*; H. H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 256, 340, 342; Christian Lassen's monograph *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige* and especially in

CHAPTER X.

On the Kodagas, Koragas, Koravas, Todas, and Kōtas.

The Kodagas.

The *Kodagas* or Kurgs are the inhabitants of Kurg and represent the dominant tribe of that province. They are a hardy race, independent and proud of the liberty they enjoy. A foreign dynasty of Lingayat Rajas ruled over them till 1834. Their country is generally called *Kudagu* or *Kodagu*, which term signifies, according to my opinion, mountain-tract. The beginning of this word means mountain, and the suffix *gu* is added to its end. A Kurgman is called *Kodagan* or *Kudagan*, but the term *Kutavin* is used in Malayālam besides *Kutaṉan* for the gutturals, as we have seen, interchange occasionally with the semi-vowel *v*. The syllable *an* indicates the pronoun of the third person masculine.

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his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II, pp. 391–397: "In dem dritten von diesen Reichen, dessen Daseyn nur durch die Münzen uns bezeugt wird, in Arachosien war *Yndopherres* oder *Gondophares* der Wiederhersteller der Parthischen Herrschaft. Die letztere Form is die einheimische gewesen, weil sie in den Arianischen Inschriften vorkommt . . (Wo die Vocalzeichen noch vorhanden sind, ist der Name *Gudupharа* zu lesen, das *n* scheint nicht bezeichnet zu seyn, wenigstens nicht wie auf den Münzen des Menandros) . . Seine Münzen stellen uns gleichsam im Umrisse die Geschichte seiner Thaten vor . . , Zwei seiner Typen sind zweifelhafter Deutung . . . Die zweite ist ihm und seinem Nachfolger eigenthümlich. Auf dieser Münze erscheint eine Gestalt in Indischer Tracht, mit einem Zepter; vielleicht ist es der König selbst. Wenn dieses richtig ist, kann daraus gefolgert werden, dass er, wenn auch nicht eigentliche Inder, was unmöglich ist, doch Unterthanen gehabt habe, deren Gebräuche nur wenig von jenen sich unterschieden, und denen er seine Achtung dadurch beweisen wollte, dass er zugleich sich ihnen in Parthischer and in Indischer Tracht zeigte."

Specially noticed should be also Sir Alexander Cunningham's writings, *e.g.*, his "Coins of the Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek inscriptions," in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXIII, pp. 711–13; his remarks in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 59–61, vol. V, pp. 60, 62, and vol. XIV, pp. 48, 116. See further *Die Nachfolger Alexander des Grossen in Bactrien and Indien* von Alfred von Sallet; the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 309; vol. IX, pp. 258–263; vol. X, p. 214; vol. XII, p. 7; my book *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*, zweite verbesserte Auflage, pp. 7, 41 and 228; *Die Kirche der Thomas-Christen* von Dr. W. Germann, pp. 16, 22, 26, 100.

The derivation of the word *Koḍa[illegible]*ted point among scholars. Dr. Gundert feels [illegible]connect it with *koṭu*, steep, the Rev. F. Kittel [illegible]ither *curved kuḍ*, and Bishop Caldwell gives as its [illegible] in reality a or *west*. I believe that *Koḍagu* or *K[illegible]*ved from it. name, and that the signification *West* [illegible] but to the To the Tamil people *Kuḍagu* is a *W[illegible]* thus that the Malayālis it is an eastern district. We fin[illegible] the West or king of *Cēra* is called in Tamil the king [illegible]e king of *Koṅṅu* *Kuḍakōn* (Kuḍakō and Kuḍanātan), while th[illegible]t, and Cēṟakāṟṟu or Cēra is in Malayālam the king of the Eas[illegible] is a name of the East-wind. *Koṅṅu* sign[illegible]ifies according to Dr. Gundert *mountain-declivity*, and, though a genera[illegible] name of the Cēra (or Kēraḷa) country, it is particularly a[illegible]plied to the Coimbatore district. Moreover, *kuḍakku* for *west* is a special Tamil expression and not found in the other kindred tongues. Even Tamil generally uses in its stead the more common term *mēṟku*. I feel therefore inclined to explain the Tamil meaning of *kuḍakku* as *west* from the situation of the Kurg country which occupies a prominent position. Just in the same way the south-wind is called in Tamil *Cōḷakam* after the southern *Cōḷa* country whence it blows.[57]

[57] Kurg is *Koḍagu* in Kanarese, Tulu and Telugu, *Kuḍaku* and *Kuḍakam* in Tamil, and *Kuṭaku* or *Koṭaku* in Malayālam. *Kuṭavan* and *Kuṭuman* signify in Malayālam a predial slave, while *Kuṭiyan* means a slave in Kurg. The latter term may have been perhaps derived from the word *kuṭi*, house. With respect to the interchange of *g* and *v* compare in Telugu *pōgu* and *pōvu*, earring; *pagaḍamu* and *pavaḍamu*, coral; *aguṭa* and *avuṭa*, to be. Consult C. P. Brown's *Telugu Grammar*, and see p. 28.

Respecting the name *Koḍagu* the Rev. F. Kittel makes the following remarks in a note to his article "Three Kongu Inscriptions" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 99–103: "As evinced by the pronunciation of Kanarese, Koḍaga, and other peoples, the name of the country is *Koṅgu* (not Kōṅgu with the long Sanskrit *o*); an inhabitant of that country, now-a-days often identified with the Koyambuttūr (Coimbatore) district, is called a Koṅga. Thus also *Koḍagu* (Coorg) is the country, and *Koḍaga*, a native of Coorg. Koṅgiṇi, Koṅguṇi, Koṅgaṇi are Sanskritized forms. Though Koṅgu and *Koḍagu* more than probably have the same root (*Kuḍ*), there seems to be no historical proof for the identity of the names. Among the *Koḍagas* of our time there is a well-known family called the *Koṅga* house,—a secondary

It is [illegible] that the ancestors of the present Koḍagas, [illegible]re regarded as aborigines, immigrated at a [illegible]nto Kurg. In those early days the Billavas and [illegible]mbas, the two representatives of the ancient Drav[illegible] Gaudian tribes, were already living on these mou[illegible], as well as the Holeyas and Yeravas, who probably [illegible]ot been degraded into bondslaves and outcastes.[58]

The principal divisions among the Kurgs are the priestly or Amma-Koḍagas and the Lay-Koḍagas.[59] Both classes are of Gaudian origin, though the Kāvēri Purāṇa represents the Amma-Koḍagas as Brahmans, who had been cursed by Agastya. Brahmanic tradition assigns to the ancient Tulu priests a similar fabulous history. These are said to have been fishermen, whom Paraśurāma had elevated into Brahmans by investing them with the holy thread torn from the cords of their nets, but whom he afterwards again degraded as unbelievers. The Amma-Koḍagas were probably

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evidence as to the influence of the Koṅgas over at least a portion of Coorg. It would be of some interest to know in what document Koḍagu is first mentioned." Bishop Caldwell gives in the introduction to his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, second edition, two different explanations of the word *Koḍagu*. On p. 22 he says: "The word *Koṅgu*, one of the names of the Chera country, means, like Kuḍagu (Coorg), crooked, curved, and is evidently a name derived from the configuration of the country;" and on p. 36 he writes: "The native spelling of Coorg is usually *Koḍagu*, properly *Kuḍagu*, from *kuḍa*, west, a meaning of the word which is usual in ancient Tamil." The original meaning of Kurg is often explained as signifying *western*, but this explanation like the others proposed by the two previously mentioned scholars appears to me improbable.

[58] See *Coorg Memoirs; an Account of Coorg*.. by the Rev. H. Moegling, Bangalore, 1856; the Rev. G. Richter's *Manual of Coorg* (1870) and his *Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes found in the Province of Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887; as well as Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III. Moegling gives on pp. 1–10 a description of the Kurg country.

[59] According to *A Manual of Coorg Civil Law*, by Captain R. Cole, p. 4, "There are four different sects or tribes amongst the Coorgs, viz., 1. *Amma*, 2. *Sanna*, 3. *Malla*, 4. *Boddu* Coorgs. Amongst these sects the *Amma* and *Sanna* Coorgs are to be found in all parts of Coorg proper, whilst the *Bodda* Coorgs are chiefly found to the north of Mercara. The *Malla* Coorgs are amalgamated with the *Sanna* Coorgs and are no longer distinguishable."

so called after *Amma Kāvēri* or Mother Kāvēri, whom they worship, though they do not assist at any ceremonies at the Kāvēri temple. In fact for a considerable period the Amma-Koḍagas do not appear to have performed any priestly functions at all. They hardly surpass their lay countrymen in education, and they live entirely on agriculture. They possess no sacred books of their own, and their influence is very limited. Some years back they could scarcely be distinguished from the other Kurgs, and they have only lately discarded their national costume, in order to imitate the Brahmans in their dress and food. They wear now the sacred thread and abstain from animal food and liquor. According to tradition, the Ammas owned once half of the Kurg country free of rent, while the other half belonged to the Lay Kurgs. But circumstances have changed much of late, and the Amma-Koḍagas are not only greatly reduced in numbers, but are still continuing to decrease.[60]

[60] Compare *Coorg Memoirs* of the Rev. H. Moegling, pp. 24-27: "When the Brahmans for whom Parashurāma's victory opened the Western Coast, settled in their new country, they found there an indigenous priesthood. They could not destroy them; they could not, or would not, amalgamate with them. What was to be done? The Parashurāma Shrishti Kathe (history of the creation of Kērala by Parashurāma) has managed the difficulty. The native priesthood, the Taulava Brahmans, are represented as Brahmans, created by Parashurāma, but afterwards cursed by him. They were originally fishermen. Parashurāma elevated them to Brahmanical rank by investing them with cords, torn from their nets. Afterwards, provoked by their unbelieving presumption, he degraded them for ever. Thus the ancient priests of the Tulu country were absorbed by the Brahmanical system as Brahmans, lying under a curse. In a similar manner the Ammas of Coorg appear in this Kāvēri Purāṇa, as Brahmans indeed originally, but degraded by the curse of the Rishi Agastya... The real history of the Ammas, or Amma Koḍagas has thus been effaced, and cannot be restored. However, a few facts may be mentioned as proofs, that the Ammas are the remains of the ancient priesthood, though they know it not themselves. 1. Their common name is Amma Koḍaga, which would naturally signify: Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma, *i.e.*, the goddess of the chief river of the country, the Kāvēri. 2. They observe the great festivals of the Coorg country in the same manner as the rest of the Coorgs, but of course, as priests, performing pūja, etc. 3. They dress like the rest of the Coorgs, though wearing at the same time, the Brahmanical cord. However, on this subject my information is rather curious. It is said, that

The Lay-Kurgs were formerly a warlike race, but the long years of peace and security have to a certain extent softened their manners. Still they are strong and brave, and though now not called upon to face hostile armies, they courageously encounter the wild and fierce beasts which infest their woods and mountains.

Their acknowledged bravery and the loyalty they displayed towards Government secured to the Kurgs the distinction of being exempted from the provisions of the Disarming Act after the suppression of the Great Mutiny.

It has been asserted that polyandry exists, or has existed, among the Koḍagas, and though this practice has probably become extinct in more recent times, there is no reason for supposing that it did not once exist. Polyandry is a custom peculiar to the Gauda-Dravidian tribes, and is still found among certain races. The households of the Koḍagas, in which two or three, perhaps even four, generations live together, have been likened to those of the five Pāṇḍavas.

having degenerated by degrees, and being at last carried away by the Turks, they ceased to put on the holy cord, and began to wear the common Coorg dress. But it appears to me, that the truth differs much from the current statement. I suppose, that they wore the Coorg-dress originally, knew nothing of Brahmanical pretensions and badges, and differed in nothing from their brethren, except their selection for the priestly office. In more recent times they seem to have inclined towards the proffered patronage of the Brahmans, and to have gradually dropped into Brahmanical habits of thought and life. A good many now wear the holy cord, having laid aside the dress of their country, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. This return to Brahmanical initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman, the late Karṇika, Timappaya. His family still exercise spiritual rule over the Amma Koḍagas, who appear to delight in the shade of Brahmanical patronage. 4. They have no Shastra. The whole Coorg race was unlettered from the beginning. Their own priesthood also, like the priests of ancient Germany and Britain, had no need of books." Mr. Lewis Rice's statements, *loco citato*, pp. 227, 228, coincide with those of Mr. Moegling. The Rev. G. Richter gives in his *Ethnographical Compendium* the following description of the Amma Koḍagas on p. 21: "The *Amma Coorgs* form but a small and exclusive sect. They are said to have been the indigenous priesthood, but there is no distinct priesthood attached to demon worship. The Coorgs being demon worshippers can have had no priesthood in the Brahmanical sense and the *Amma* Coorgs may rather be considered as having been, like the *Ajjalu Palyas*, the officiating *Pujaris* at

The Koḍagas are very superstitious, worshipping demons and evil spirits.

On the whole the Koḍaga is a very worthy representative of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and has no need to raise himself in the esteem of others by claiming to be an Aryan Kṣatriya.[61]

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the bloody sacrifices offered to their *Bhutas*, an office which generally the head of the family performs. Yet their name, *Amma Kodagas*, denotes that they were devotees to 'Mother Kaveri,' a river deity which is identical with *Parvati*, the wife of *Siva*. . It may be conjectured that the Brahmans coming in contact with the rude Coorg mountaineers and seeing in the dominant race a promising field to further their own interests, imposed upon them their own puranic superstition and peopled the high mountains with celebrated *rishis* or hermits, chief among them *Agastia Muni*, and brought the source of the *Kaveri* in relationship with the principal Brahmanical deities, *Siva* and *Parvati*, and to give divine authority to their proceedings they foisted upon the Coorgs the *Kaveri Purana*, a feat which may have overawed a rude and superstitious race, but which by modern criticism is discovered as a fraudulent imposition of recent date. To conciliate and win over the indigenous *Bhuta pujaris* they were admitted as a sort of inferior priests of *Kaveri Amma*, hence their name *Amma Kodagas*. In the course of time disputes must have arisen between them and the more crafty and learned *Bramanical* priests whose interests necessitated a monopoly and as legend has it, the former fell under *Kaveri's* curse and decreased, whilst the Coorgs who sided with *Agastia Muni*, were promised increased prosperity. But however obscure the history of the *Amma* Coorgs may be, the fact is that from time immemorial they perform no priestly functions whatever, and being unlettered and ignorant they exercise no spiritual influence upon the rest of the Coorgs from whom they are only distinguished by wearing the Brahmanical cord and by abstaining from animal food and fermented liquor. They do therefore not eat with Coorgs nor intermarry with them; but the Brahmans do in no wise acknowledge them as of equal standing or even resembling them in priestly dignity. Their number does not exceed 400, and the next census will likely confirm the opinion of their steady decrease. They live on agriculture only. It is said that a class of people like the *Amma Kodagas* live in the Wynaad, with whom they claim relationship, but have now no intercourse." The legend of Paraśurāma elevating fishermen on the Tuluva shore to Brahmans by destroying the nets and forming Brahmanical strings out of their meshes, is also contained in a Kanarese *Bhūgōla*. Paraśurāma became incensed against them in consequence of their attempting to try the truth of his word.

[61] See *Coorg Annals*, pp. 27, ff: "There can be no doubt, that the Coorgs have an origin distinct from the population both of the Western coast (Canara and Malayālam), and of the Mysore tableland. Their very appearance proves this. They are a tall, muscular, broad-chested, well-favored race. Many of them do not exceed the neighbouring tribes in height of

The Koṛagas.

A greater dissimilarity can hardly exist between two tribes than is found between the Koḍagas of Kurg and the Koṛagas of Kanara, though both belong to the same Gaudian race. The free and independent bearing of the Koḍaga stands in glaring contrast to the shy and retiring demeanour

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body. Their complexion is rather fair, their features generally regular. . . The national character of the Coorgs is perhaps tolerably well understood by the people of the plains, who look upon them as a fierce, irascible and revengeful race, not easily to be managed . . . They have a strange and noxious custom, a kind of marriage-communism within the family. The wives of the brothers of one house are considered as common property. The children consequently are rather children of the family, or of the mother, than of the acknowledged father . . . Among the Coorgs the family property descends accordingly not so much from father to son, as from generation to generation, the eldest member acting as head of the house. . In former days there was another way, my informant told me, for contracting marriage, besides family agreement. Two young people of the same (district) Nāḍu, would see each other, and without asking counsel of parents or friends, agree upon a union for life. Such a covenant would be held sacred. Unfaithfulness in the case of such partners was a thing unheard of." Read also Mr. Lewis Rice's *Gazetteer of Coorg*, pp. 93, ff., 203, 218, 254. Compare Mr. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 2: "There can be no doubt that however varied the population of Coorg may be, the dominant tribe, the Coorgs, as well as the other Hindu castes and tribes of the country belong to the Dravidian race. . . .As to their physiognomy and bodily characteristics, essentially there seems to be no difference other than what may be accounted for by civilization and social institutions. The shape of their heads is clearly *meso-cephalic* and *orthognatus* with less or more prominent cheek-bones and oval or pointed faces." P. 3: "As to traditional habits and customs amongst the people of Coorg there is a great similitude to the usages among the other Dravidian races, modified of course by the difference of climate and civilizing influences." P. 19: . . The Coorgs or *Kodagas*, as they are properly called, are the principal inhabitants of the country, and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. . . However, the peculiar character attached to them is doubtless the result of physical and political circumstances in which they were placed. They are a tribe more from position than genealogy and cannot be said to be of distinct origin. In the Hindu scale they are considered as Sudras. By the force of local circumstances they became like other pre-Aryan hill tribes hunters and warriors and were brought into historical prominence through the chivalrous exploits of their Raja Dodda Verajender in his struggle with Tippu Sultan for independence and his alliance with the English, and again through the insane hostility of the last Raja and the short invasion and annexation of the country by the English in 1834. Now the Coorgs are peaceful agriculturists and chiefly fill the offices of the local administration and

of the Koṛaga when he encounters a stranger in his jungles. The Koḍaga has a comparatively fair complexion, while the skin of the Koṛaga is black; the former delights to cover himself with handsome clothes, the latter prefers rags or a state bordering on nudity; while the Koṛaga woman is even contented with a partial covering of interwoven leaves. In spite of his poverty and wretchedness, the Koṛaga is a contented man and lives happy and contented so long as nobody interferes with him, and of course so long as he can satisfy his hunger and thirst. He likes meat and is fond of spirits. The dead are buried according to Mr. N. Raghavendra Row, but burnt according to Dr. Francis Buchanan. Mr. N. Raghavendra Row asserts that the

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owe their notable position to the special favor of the British Government. Their presumption to be of *Kshatria* or *Rajput* descent may flatter their natural pride, but has not the slightest foundation in history or tradition, or in the evidence derived from their language or social and religious institutions and customs. Lieutenant Connor, whose professional duties brought him into daily intercourse with them for a period of two years, 1815-1817, enjoyed the most favorable opportunities to form an unbiassed opinion of the Coorgs before any European influence had affected their habits and social position. He rejects the supposition of their being a division of the *Nairs* as having 'no pretension to rank with the higher classes of the *Soodra* tribe.'" P. 38: "The Coorgs are generally charged with the practice of polyandry, and Lieutenant Connor writes of the custom as an undoubted fact, the reason for which he fails to see. He states, 'The Codugus generally marry after the age of puberty, the nuptials of the eldest brother are first celebrated, and the lady in all cases yields a consent to become the wife of the younger ones, who, when circumstances will permit are married successively, their spouses being in turn not less accommodating.' Upon a careful and confidential examination of the matter, I have come to the conclusion that, whatever may have been the custom of bygone ages, or whatever form it may have assumed,—Thornton in his history of the British Empire alluding to the marriage laws of the Coorgs, called it 'communism of wives'—there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a 'general usage.'" P. 42: "Regarding the *religion* of the Coorgs the general statement already given needs some special remarks. Considering their intimate connection with local and neighbouring castes and tribes, it is but natural that their religious practices, which originally stood on the same level with those of the *Holeyas*, viz., demon and ancestor worship, have been much influenced by Malayalim, Tulu, Kanarese, Brahmanical and Lingayet superstitions. Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at demon and ancestor worship; Tulus have smuggled in their demons and are in requisition as *pujaris*; Mysoreans at certain times of the year carry *Mari Amma* shrines through the country to

Koṛaga does not like to volunteer any information about his language. "He may be induced to give an account of "his feasts, his god, and his family, but a word about his "dialect will frighten him out of his wits. At that moment "alone, he will become impolite and unmannerly. He "thinks his dialect is a shield in his hand and cannot "be parted with, and therefore keeps it as a sacred secret. "But good words and kind treatment can do something. "A few words that have been gathered with great difficulty "resemble those of the Keikadi and Naikunde Gondi tribes "of Nagpore." The unwillingness of the Soppina Koragas to give information concerning their language is also mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves.*[62]

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have the people's vows paid to them; the Brahmans who are domiciled in Coorg have succeeded in introducing *Mahádeva* and *Subrahmanya*, in entirely brahmanizing the worship of the river Kavéri, in having temples erected and idols set up, in spreading puranic tales, and in usurping to some extent the *puja* at the places of the worship. They have been greatly assisted in these successful endeavours by the *Lingayets* and *Sivacharis*, especially in the introduction of the *Linga*. Christianity first presented to them by the Roman Catholic settlement in Virajendrapet since the days of Dodda Virajendra, and for the last 30 years offered to them by the agents of the Basel Mission ... has made little progress." Read also Rev. F. Kittel's articles entitled *Coorg Superstitions*, *The Coorgs* and *Three Kongu Inscriptions* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 168-171, 132, and vol. VI, pp. 99-103. The second article treats about the custom of polyandry. Compare Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 286-290.

According to the last census the number of Amma Koḍagas amounted to 475 and that of the other Koḍagas to 26,538 souls.

[62] See Mr. Ullal Raghavendra Rao's account on the Koragas of Canara. I have not been able to obtain a copy of the original lecture. It has been reprinted two years ago in the May number 1886 of the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, it is also *in extenso* quoted in the *Madras Census Report* of 1871, vol. I, pp. 343-345, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 195-199, and in Mr. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, pp. 206-210. "With a black face, forehead of moderate size, and strong body, all bespeaking contentment, *the Koragar* is separated from the rest of mankind,—alien in dress, in manners, customs and dialect. Uneducated and illiterate as he is, in his circle virtue thrives as in her proper soil. . . He has a god, and him he knows to love—him he knows to pray to, however incoherent his language be. Lying, stealing, adultery, and other social evils, he knows not. He has never appeared in a court of justice as defendant in a suit. He does drink toddy, it is true. . He does eat flesh. On what else should he live, while we have denied him every means of subsistence. ? . The Koragar, born

Little is known about their former history. The Koṛagas are now treated like Pariahs, though according to tradition they also were once a governing race. Dr. Francis Buchanan states that: "*Hubushica*, chief of the savages

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as a slave, is richly content with his ignorance, with his *koppu*, and with his squalid poverty. Ambition finds in him no place. He eats but the rotten flesh of the dead cattle. He clothes himself but with rags... The dress of the Koragar does not greatly differ from that which the lower classes, such as the *Billuwars*, make use of during their daily labour, the only point of difference is, that the poverty of the Koragar does not allow him to replace the narrow piece of threadbare cloth, little better than a rag, by a more recent suit of clothes on festive occasions; while the other classes invariably reserve some sort of finery for gala days. The dress of the females, however, is very peculiar. While the males gird a piece of cloth around their loins, the females cover their waist with the leaves of the forest interwoven together. The custom of their nudity is attributed to different reasons; and a tradition, which has been handed down to posterity among the upper classes, who boast of the glory of the past, is hardly worthy of belief... One of these 'blacklegged' (the usual expression by which they are referred to during the night) demanded a girl of high birth in marriage. Being enraged at this, the upper class withheld, after the overthrow of the Koraga empire, every kind of dress from the Koraga women, who, to protect themselves from disgrace, have since had recourse to the leaves of the forest . . .Within his own circle, he has three divisions: 1. *The Ande Koragars.*—These are described as having a pot suspended from their neck. This class, which is the lowest, has been rarely seen since the establishment of British rule in Canara. They were considered so unholy, that they were not allowed to this on the public way; and, consequently, the pot was worn for this purpose. 2. *The Vastra Koragars.*—This appellation has reference to their wearing clothes such as were used to shroud a dead body and were given to them in the shape of charity, the use of a new cloth being prohibited. 3. *The Sappu Koragars.*—These Koragars are such as we now generally see, wearing leaves for clothes. These three divisions are named simply after their different kinds of dress." (This extract is from M. Sherring's vol. III, and the following partly also from the *Indian Antiquary.*)

"When a Koragar dies, as a matter of simple duty, reference is made to his landlord, and with his permission the deceased is buried in a place consecrated for the purpose, and in his honour four balls of rice are made and placed on the grave, which must be done within twelve months from the date of his death. Koragars were, it is said, originally worshippers of the sun... They have no separate temple for their god; but a place beneath a Kasarkana tree is consecrated for the worship of their deity, which is exclusively their own, and is called *Kata*. . . The Koragars have no fixed feasts exclusively their own. Now, while liberty shines throughout the world under this Christian Government, slavery still lurks in those darkest corners where the rays of education have yet to penetrate. The *Koragars* and *Holeyas* are victims to this vestige of past despotism. The ceremony

"called *Coragoru*, or *Corar*, governed 12 years, till Kali-"yugam 2657. *Locaditya Raya*, son of Myuru Varma, "expelled the *Coragoru*, and governed Tulava, Malayala, "and Haiga 21 years, till Kaliyugam 2678." [63]

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of buying a slave needs a little explanation. The destined slave is washed, and anointed with oil, and new clothes are given him. The master takes a *batlu*, or plate, pours some water in it, and drops in it a piece of gold. The slave drinks up the water, and taking some earth from his future master's estate, throws it on the spot which he has chosen for his use, which is thereupon given to him with the trees thereon. The greater number of slaves belong to the Aliya Santanam castes, and among these people a male slave is sold for three Bhaudry pagodas, and a female slave for five pagodas; whereas the few slaves who follow the Makkala Santanam custom, fetch five pagodas for the man, and only three for the woman. This is because the children of the latter go to the husband's master, while those of the Aliya Santanam slaves go to the mother's master, who also has the benefit of the husband's services."

In the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* of Ramappa Karnik of Barkur, which I quoted on p. 156 in note 50, p. 159, note 53, and on p. 170 concerning the language of the Soppu Koragar, contain also other interesting remarks on the Koragas on pp. 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35. In 11: "Mirars, Kappata Koragars, Soppu Koragars and those, who are aborigines of Ghauts feed upon carrion or carcasses of oxen, cows, calves, buffaloes and other cattle. Females of Soppu Koragars alone wear leaves of trees. . . Kappata Koragars and Soppu Koragars do wicker-work, sell hides to shoe-makers and secure remnants of food of all higher classes except the subdivided Chandalas. Soppu Koragars also beat drum during buffalo race and other occasions. . . Among the Soppu Koragars, male guests of their caste bring degradation upon them if they enter after sun-set a hut occupied by a single woman. The females of this class, failing to wear leaves, bring disrepute to the whole class."

[63] Compare *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, by Francis Buchanan, M.D., second edition, Madras, vol. II, p. 269, and pp. 271, 272: "Having assembled some of the *Corar*, or *Corawar*, who under their chief *Hubashica* are said to have once been masters of *Tulava*, I found, that they are now all slaves, and have lost every tradition of their former power. Their language differs considerably from that of any other tribe in the peninsula. When their masters choose to employ them, they get one meal of victuals, and the men have daily one *Hany* of rice, and the women three-quarters of a *Hany*. This is a very good allowance; but, when the master has no use for their labour, they must support themselves as well as they can. This they endeavour to do by making *Coir*, or rope from coco-nut husks, various kinds of baskets from *Ratans* and climbing plants, and mud walls. They pick up the scraps and offals of other people's meals, and skin dead oxen, and dress the hides. They build their huts near towns or villages. Their dress is very simple, and consists in general of a girdle, in which they stick a bunch of grass before, and another

The same incident is mentioned in the following manner in the MS. of the yet unprinted "Geography and History of Canara" compiled by the late Mr. William Lavie, an official of South Kanara, during the years 1830 to 1841: "About "900 years or more before Christ (but we must not be too "particular about dates) Hoobashee brought an army from "Anantapur consisting of the Berar, Mundale, Karamāra, "Mailla, Holeya, Ande Koraga; with these troops, whom "Buchanan calls savages, Hoobashee marched against "Angara Varma, the son of Veera Varma. They first came "to Barkūr and from thence proceeded to Mangalore, where "they were seized with the small-pox, and greatly troubled "by the ants. Subsequently they went to the south-"ward of Manjeshwar. Here Hoobashee established his "capital, and put his nephew Siddha Bhyru on the throne "in lieu of Veera Varma. He reigned only twelve years, "and then both he and Hoobashee died, owing to the en-"chantments used by Veera Varma who went to Banwāsee "in Sonda for that very purpose. After their deaths, Veera "Varma returned and drove the aforesaid army into the

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behind. Some of the men have a fragment of cloth round their waist; but very few of the women ever procure this covering. They are not, however, without many ornaments of beads, and the like; and even when possessed of some wealth, do not alter their rude dress. Some few of them are permitted to rent lands as *Gaynigaras*. In spite of this wretched life, they are a good looking people, and therefore probably are abundantly fed. They have no hereditary chiefs, and disputes among them are settled by assemblies of the people. If they can get them, they take several wives; and the women are marriageable both before and after puberty, and during widowhood. They will not marry a woman of any other caste; and they are considered of so base an origin, that a man of any other caste, who cohabits with one of their women, is inevitably excommunicated and afterwards not even a *Corar* will admit his society. The marriages are indissoluble, and a woman who commits adultery is only flogged. Her paramour, if he be a *Corar*, is fined. The master pays the expense of the marriage feast. When a man dies, his wives, with all their children, return to the huts of their respective mothers and brothers, and belong to their masters. They will eat the offals of any other caste, and can eat beef, carrion, tigers, crows, and other impure things; they reject, however, dogs and snakes. They can lawfully drink intoxicating liquors. They burn the dead, and seem to know nothing of

"jungles where they were driven to such extremities that "they consented to become slaves and serve under the former "landlords. The way in which this was done was as follows: "After washing and anointing the body with oil, new cloths "were put on the destined slave, and his future owner having "taken a *Batlu* or plate, poured some water on it and dropt "in a piece of gold. After which the slave drank up the "water. The slave then took up some earth from his future "master's estate and threw it on such a spot as he chose for "his house and garden which was accordingly given over to "him with all the trees thereon. The Karamāra were set "to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village. "The head-men who had been appointed by Hoobashee to "the most responsible posts under his nephew's government "were taken naked towards the sea in order to be hung "there, but being ashamed of their naked state they gathered "the leaves of the Necky gida (ನೆಕ್ಕಿ ಗಿಡ), five-leaved trees, and "made a small covering for themselves in front. Thereupon "their conductors took pity on them and let them go, since "which they have continued to wear no other covering than "the leaves of the said tree." [64]

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a state of future existence, nor do they believe in *Paisachi*, or evil spirits. Their deity is called *Buta*, and is represented by a stone, which is kept in a square surrounded by a wall. To this stone, in all cases of sickness, they sacrifice fowls or make offerings of fruit or grain, and every man offers his own worship (*Pūja*); so that they have no officiating priest, and they acknowledge the authority of no *Guru*. They follow all the oxen and buffaloes of the village, as so much of the live stock, when they are driven in procession at a great festival which the farmers annually celebrate."

[64] I copied this extract from a MS. copy of Mr. Lavie's *Geography and History of Canara* kindly lent to me by Mr. J. Sturrock, Collector of South Canara, and it occurs there on pp. 21, 22. Mr. Lavie says about it: "29. The following traditionary account of the Dhers I quote in full from a Canarese paper obligingly furnished to me by a respectable native." This extract is also contained in a note to the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* by Ramappa Karnic of Barkur, a friend of Dr. Buchanan. These memoirs were translated by Mr. Joseph Saldanha, Sheristadar of Mangalore, and published by Dr. John Shortt in the IV Part of *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*. The MS. copy of these Memoirs and the print of Dr. Shortt (on p. 19) acknowledge Lavie's *Geography and History of Canara* as their original

In the English translation of Rāmappa's *Memoirs of the Slaves*, Hoobashee is always called Hubashika, and the Karamāras are called Mārimans or Kappatu Koragas.

We read also in this memoir that Hubaṣika, king of the Caṇḍālas, subdued king Lōkādirāya, that the king Candrasēna, in order to get rid of Hubaṣika, proposed to him that he should marry Candrasēna's sister, and when Hubaṣika with his chief followers came, the guests were treacherously assailed and either massacred or enslaved.[65]

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source. The following account is reprinted from *The Koragars* by Mr. Ullal Raghavendra Rao from the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 196: "The following tradition gives us a very faint idea of their rule:—

"About 900 years or more B.C. (but we must not be too particular about dates), the *Habashi* brought an army from Anantapur, consisting of the Birar, Mundal, Karmara, Maila, Holeya, Ande Koraga; with these troops, whom the learned Dr. Buchanan calls savages, the Habashi marched against *Angara Varma*, the son of Vira Varma. They first came to *Barkur*, and from thence proceeded to *Mangalur*, where they were attacked by small-pox, and greatly troubled by ants. They went to the southward of *Manjeśvar*. There the *Habashi* established his capital, and put his nephew *Sidda Bairu* on the throne in lieu of Vira Varma. He reigned only twelve years, and then both he and the Habashi died, owing to the enchantments used by *Vira Varma*, who went to *Banawasi* in Sonda for that very purpose. After their death *Vira Varma* returned, and drove the aforesaid army into the jungles, where they were pursued to such extremities that they consented to become slaves and serve under the former landlords. The *Karmara* was sent to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village. The headmen who had been appointed by the Hubashi to the most responsible posts under his nephew's government were taken naked to the seashore in order to be hanged, but, being ashamed of their naked state, they gathered the leaves of the *Nekki gida* and made a small covering for themselves. Thereupon their conductors took pity on them, and let them go, since which they have, it is said, continued to wear no other covering than the leaves of the said tree."

The Koragars have been republished in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol. III, pp. 824, 833. The contents of the nine lines (beginning with "The way in which," and ending with "all the trees thereon," concerning the ceremony of buying a slave) are omitted in this extract, and are found in another extract reprinted at the top of p. 172 in note 62.

The passage on p. 197 beginning with: "Although these slaves are in a degraded position" and ending with: "They are also mortgaged for three or four pagodas," forms verbatim part of § 30 on p. 23 of Mr. Lavie's MS. It is found in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* on pages 828, 829. Mr. Lavie resigned the service in 1848 and died in England in 1861.

[65] The *Locaditya Raya* of Buchanan is called *Lokadiraya* by Ramappa Karnic of Barkur, in whose *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* in Dr. Shortt's *Hill Ranges*, Part IV, pp. 18 and 19, we read: "Formerly, a hero by name Hubashika

What makes this tradition so interesting is that it connects Hubaṣika with the Kadambas; for Candrasēna, the ruler of the Tuluva country, was a kinsman of Trinētra Kadamba. Trinētra is a favorite name in this dynasty. Candrasēna had a son Lōkāditya, who married a daughter of Trinētra Kadamba. The daughter of this Lōkāditya and of the Kadamba princess Kanakāvatī was asked in marriage by Hubaṣika, the king of the Caṇḍalas. Lōkāditya pretended to favour the suit, and invited the intended bridegroom to his capital Tripura to celebrate the marriage. Shortly after his arrival Hubaṣika and his retinue were treacherously assailed and massacred by the soldiers of Lōkāditya and Trinētra.

These accounts differ very considerably. According to some Hubaṣika died owing to the enchantments of Vīra Varma, according to others he was killed by Lōkāditya, to

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became famous amongst the Chandalas, subdued the king Lokadiraya and was ruling with his caste men. King Chendashena, with the view of getting rid of Hubashika, proposed a marriage between Hubashika and Chendasena's sister, and invited the bridegroom and his caste men to the nuptials. The invitation being complied with, a wholesale massacre of the guests ensued, many fell victims to the plot, a few escaped, others were imprisoned and made over to Brahmans to be employed in tilling their lands. As the captives belonged to the camp of the enemy, it was declared that the Chandalas should be punished by their respective masters for faults committed by them; that they should for ever remain under subordination to others; that they should possess no authority whatever; and that they should be allowed only the daily ratio of food rather than permit them to have at their disposal, the previous day, means for providing themselves with the necessaries of the next day. Thus doomed to bondage for ever, the Chandalas were transferred along with the lands to the subsequent Nadavar and Brahman purchasers . . Those who had escaped during the aforesaid crisis had returned home, pursued their avocations and lived an independent life . . The Soppu Koragars also appear to have been in some localities attached to land and in others to have enjoyed liberty."

With respect to the Kadambas the main printed information so far as the subject concerns us here is contained in H. H. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, Introduction, pp. lix, l, ci-ciii, 95-97 (new edition, pp. 36, 60, 62, 149, 150).

I have consulted the MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library on which are mostly founded the conclusions of Wilson. Read also Mr. L. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 194, 195.

whom Buchanan ascribed the expulsion of the Koṛagas after the death of Hubaṣika. The relationship of the Kadamba princes is also given differently; still these contradictions need not invalidate the main part of the tradition concerning Hubaṣika.

If we could recognise in this prince a real historical personage, an important step would have been gained towards fixing the period of these events. The life of the first Trinētra Kadamba is placed by some at the beginning of the second century A.D., and this is the very period which the coins supply concerning the reign of *Huviṣka* or Hooerkes, king of the Korano, who would have been thus a contemporary of Hubaṣika, king of the Koṛagas.

The mighty Scythian king *Kadphises* II was succeeded in North-Western India by king *Kaniṣka* or Kanerkes, who initiated in A.D. 78 the Śaka Era, as has been first suggested by the late Mr. James Fergusson. Kaniṣka or Kanerkes was followed in his reign about 110 A.D. by Huviṣka or Hooerkes. The latter forms prevail on the coins, while the records contain the former. The Korano or Kuṣan are identical with the *Yueh-chi*, the Chinese name of this tribe, commonly known to us as Indo-Scythians.

The Gauda-Dravidian race, as I have repeatedly pointed out, was not confined to India, some of its branches having remained on the northern frontier of the Indian continent. The invasion by the Korano can thus be appropriately explained as an inroad into India made by a kindred tribe, and leads to the suggestion that *Hubaṣika*, king of the Koṛagas, may be identified with Huviṣka, king of the Korano or Kuṣan. As Huviṣka's reign falls in the first half of the second century A.D., the period of Hubaṣika's reported invasion will be fixed if Hubaṣika and Huviṣka are one and the same person.

Moreover, there are different kings of the name Trinētra among the Kadambas. The first Trinētra lived according

to native tradition early in the Kaliyuga, while H. H. Wilson places his reign in the second half of the second century A.D. *Mayūra Varma*, the *Myuru Varma* of Buchanan, either the third or the sixth king of this dynasty, had a son Trinētra Kadamba, also known as Kṣētra Varma and Candragada. He was the brother-in-law of Lōkāditya, the son of Candrasēna. Great confusion prevails in this matter.

The resemblance between the two names *Hubaṣika* and *Huviṣka* is so great, that one might suspect them to be identical. If this is the case, we must consider whether there existed only one or two or more kings of this same name. If only one king of this name ruled, his exploits must have been transferred to a subsequent period, in order to confer on the then reigning dynasty (in this circumstance on the race of the Kadambas [66]) the glory of having slain such a distinguished sovereign. If we can trace more than one ruler of the name of Huviṣka (Hubaṣika), the difficulty as to the date is removed. Yet, I feel inclined to assume that only one king of this name did exist, and that Hubaṣika's or Huviṣka's invasion is separated from Lōkāditya's reign by a long intervening period. The identity of the original Hubaṣika with Huviṣka will be of considerable historical interest, as it proves the great impression which the invasions of the Indo-Scythians made on the mind of the Indian people. The similarity between *Korano* and *Koraga*, the names of the tribes over whom Huviṣka and Hubaṣika respectively ruled, must also not be overlooked.

Mayūra Varma is credited with having introduced Brahmans to Kanara. His capital was Banavāsi, already mentioned by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 83) as *Βανοασσεί*.

The change of an *r* into a sibilant does not offer any philological difficulty, especially in Sanskrit, so that the forms *Kaniṣka* and *Huviṣka* require no particular explanation, if the original national pronounciation preferred an *r* and

[66] See p. 264.

was Kanerkes and Hooerkes. Certain euphonic rules even necessitate the above-mentioned change in Sanskrit. The Gauda-Dravidian languages are not very strict in the use of the liquids *r* and *l*, and the letter *ḷ* is at times pronounced like an *l* or an *r*, and even, though faulty, like an *ṣ*.[67]

The Koṛagas, whom Buchanan calls *Coramar*, though treated like out-castes, yet acknowledge caste-distinctions among themselves. They are known as *Ande Koṛagas*, *Vastra Koṛagas* and *Soppu Koṛagas*. They are divided besides into five tribes. The names of two of these are lost. The others are called *Bangaranna*, *Kumaranna*, and *Mungaranna*.

I explain the word Koṛaga in the same manner as Kodaga, both names being derivatives of *ko*, mountain. Dr. Francis Buch

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oncerning their ancient history.

[68] See p. 97.

[69] See Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Marshall's *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 4: "There is much of the 'blameless Ethiopian' about them: something of the Jew and of the Chaldaean in their appearance." "On the eve of sending this work to the press, I would beg again to urge my belief in the connection between the Dravidian Toda and the Ethiop."

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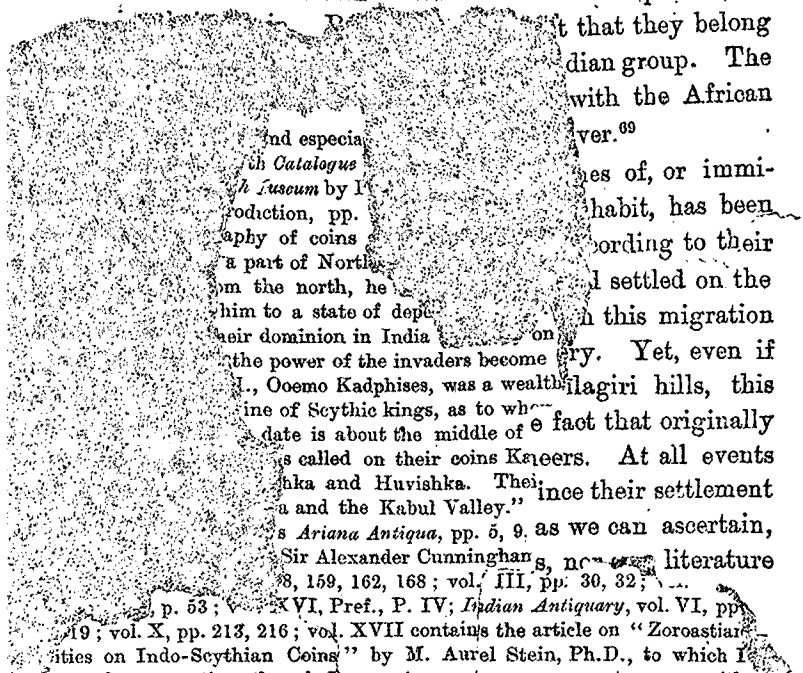
tioned, also *Coraiwar*. The *Koṛavas* or *Koṛamas*, mountaineers, are indeed a tribe widely spread in Southern India. They are identical with the Kuṛuvas, of whom I shall speak later on. To the mountain climbing *Malaca*, whom I noticed on p. 21, correspond the terms *Koṛaca*, *Korca* and *Korsa* unless they are taken as modifications of Koṛava. We find these people especially in the Kanarese districts. They are well known as basket-makers.[68]

The Todas.

The Todas or Tudas, as these pastoral rulers of the Blue Mountains, or *Nilagiri* of South India, are generally called, have to a certain extent baffled all inquiries con-



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Sir Alexander Cunninghan

8, 159, 162, 168; vol. III, pp. 30, 32;
p. 53; XVI, Pref., P. IV; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp.
19; vol. X, pp. 213, 216; vol. XVII contains the article on "Zoroastrian
ities on Indo-Scythian Coins" by M. Aurel Stein, Ph.D., to which I
ish to draw attention, though I cannot as yet see my way to agree with
him in his, at all events, ingenious conjecture of identifying the Greek P
which he himself pronounces repeatedly *r* with the sibilant *ṣ*.

The *Banavasei* (Βαναύσει and Βαναουασεῖ) of Ptolemy has been di tly
explained. Some take it for *Kundapur*, others for Koṅkaṇapura, Kokan
and Anegundi. See Mr. T. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described b*
Ptolemy, p. 179.

The Todas are divided into five clans, namely: Paiki, Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna and Todi. We meet the term *Paiki* again among the *Hale-paikis* of Naga, and the *Kumāra-paikas* of North Kanara, who make toddy-drawing their chief occupation. The Hale-paikis of Manjarabad are called *Devura makkalu* or children of God, and the Paikis take the lead among the Todas, for from them the Pālāl or high-priest is chosen, call themselves also *Dēr mokh*, or children of God. The derivation of *Paiki* is: can it be connected with the Telugu postposition above?

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inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, Mangalore 1864, the Rev. F. Metz says on p. 14: "At what period the Todas first and settled upon the Neilgherries, we have no means of ascertaining, for they have no literature, nor any inscriptions, and such of their traditions as I have hitherto heard them mention afford no clue whatever by which this mystery can be unravelled. From their legends, and some particular words contained in their language, I am led to think that, prior to migrating to these Hills, they must, perhaps for centuries, have inhabited a range lying to the North-East, in the direction of Hassanoor, beyond the Gazelhutty pass. Part of the tribe appears to have settled in a northern direction near Collegal; for I am frequently pressed to go and visit them and bring back intelligence respecting their condition in life; prosperity with the Todas, as in patriarchal times, consisting in the number and extent of their heads." See also *An Account of the Tribes on the Neilgherries*, by J. Shortt, M.D., Madras, 1868, pp. 4-12. On p. 4 he writes: "Todawars, or Torawurs, who are reputed to be the aborigines, and, it is said, were once clad in leaves and roamed as free and unrestrained lords of the soil, leading a pastoral nomadic life... Todawars, or Torawurs—the literal name given to herdsmen in the Tamil language—are the principal tribe, and are believed to be the original inhabitants, as well as the territorial sovereigns of these Hill tracts. Not only do the Todars themselves claim this priority of existence and possession, but the right is conceded to them by the other Hill tribes, who, in recognition of it, always paid a tribute to their Toda lords, consisting of one-sixth of the produce in kind; but, under the British Government, this practice is being gradually discontinued... The Toda or Thoddur tribe consists of five distinct intersections or sub-divisions, namely (1) Peiky; (2) Pekkan; (3) Kuttan; (4) Kenna; and (5) Tody... (On p. 7.) The Todawars are entirely a pastoral race, and lead a peaceful tranquil life, chiefly employed in tending their cattle. They carry no weapon of offence or defence for protection against enemies of their own kind or wild beasts, except a cowherd's wand or staff, which is made of jungle wood generally, about 4½ feet long with a large knob or head." Compare further *ibidem* a *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey on the Neilgherry Mountains*, by Captain J. Ouchterlony, 1847, pp. 51-52: "This remarkable race differs in almost every essential respect from all other tribes of the

They also do not show much interest in the old cairns, kistvains, sepulchral structures, and other remains that are found scattered all over these mountains, though they claim some as their own. It is, therefore, still a matter of some doubt whether these relics ought to be assigned to them in preference to the Kurumbas. From many indications they may perhaps have a legitimate title to their possession. The Todas, on the other hand, who erected these stone monuments, it would appear that the buildings must have been agriculturists. As no

natives of Hindustan, and their singular characteristics and strange habits have given rise to much speculation and history. As no clue has however yet been discovered in the form of monuments, coins, or even in traditions, by which research could be directed, all theories broached upon the subject cannot be otherwise than vain and illusory, especially those which have been based upon the assumption that the images, bones, and other relics which are found in the remarkable 'cairns,' discovered in such numbers all over the Hills, belonged to the ancestors of the Todars... (On p. 61.) Their occupation is purely pastoral; their only manual labor being themilking of the buffaloes, and converting portions of their milk into butter and ghee." Consult *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, by the late James Wilkinson Breeks, edited by his widow; London 1873, pp. 26 and 27: "The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now. This view is in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate sambur flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Betikhan, who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicoté beyond Gudalur, is, they say, the son of their ancestor, Dirkish. The question then arises: how, and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?.. The answer could seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pútkuli*, *tharp*, *kônu*, *&c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too intermittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow." Read further *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, by

other hand, are now shepherds, and lead a simple pastoral and nomadic life. They do not devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, an occupation which the Badagas, who immigrated at a later period, especially follow. Yet the assumption that the Todas have always led a pastoral life, if substantiated, seems to speak against the connection of the Todas with such structures. However, it is quite possible that the sickles found in the cairns may have been used for other than agricultural purposes.[71]

Lieutenant-Colonel William E. Marshall, London, 1873, pp. 2–8 and 136, and *A Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880, pp. 183–202. Compare about the *Paiki* Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introduction, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv, and Metz, p. 35.

[71] See Rev. F. Metz, *ibidem*, p. 13: "Some few of the Todas maintain that the cairns are the work of their ancestors, but these are men who have been examined by Europeans. The majority, and especially the most respectable of them, do not hold this opinion, and it would be a strange anomaly indeed in a people so proverbial for their respect for the dead, to allow, as the Todas do, these places of interment to be rudely disturbed and desecrated by the hands of strangers, did they believe them to be the receptacles of the ashes of their forefathers. Many of the circles constructed of loose stones which have been taken to be deserted temples of this tribe, were doubtless nothing more than buffalo-pens." And on p. 124: "During the 13 years that I have labored amongst and mixed with the [illegible] have never found the Todas in any way interested in the cairn-tribes, I [illegible] fact of their making no objection to their being opened, taken [illegible] with the circumstance of the contents frequently consisting [illegible] connection with [illegible] sickles and other implements of husbandry, showing [illegible] of plough-shares constructed by an agricultural race, which the Todas [illegible] the cairns were [illegible] to me convincing proofs that they are not the work of the Todas of a past generation." The Rev. Mr. Metz states that such kist-vains are called *Mōriaru mane*, house of the *Mōrias*, and recognises in the latter the Mauryas or Uibeck Tatars. Is it perhaps possible to connect the term *Mōriaru* with the Mar tribe? Peculiarly enough *Mēr* is the Toda expression for the Kandahs, as in the Toda name *Mērkōkāl* for Kotagiri, *i.e.*, the Kota village (Kokal) of the Kandahs, see Breeks, p. 36. Compare Captain Congreve's article: *The Antiquities of the Neilgherry Hills*, including an Inquiry into the Descent of the *Thautavars or Todars*, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1847, vol. XIV, No. 32, pp. 77–146. Lieutenant-Colonel Congreve contends that the Todas were the constructors of the old cairns and he gives on pp. 84, 85 his reasons for it: "1st. The shape of the cairns: a Circle of stones similar to that of the cemeteries of the Thautawars at this day. 2nd. The basins and other utensils, knives, arrow-heads, shreds of cloth, mingled with charcoal and bones found in the cairns are precisely the same articles buried at the funeral of a modern Thautawar. 3rd. In both cases these things are deposited

Some of their legends connect the Todas with the Rākṣasa king *Rāvaṇa*, others with his great antagonist, *Rāma*. The ancestors of the Todas are said to have been the palanquin bearers of Rāvaṇa; if so, they belong to the Ganda-Dravi-

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in holes under large slabs in the middle of the cemeteries. 4th. The numerous figures of buffaloes, some with bells round their necks, made of pottery, found in the cairns are monuments of the antiquity of the Thautawar custom of sacrificing buffaloes decorated with bells at funerals. 5th. In every case I have observed a Thautawar village situated contiguously to the cairn, manifesting some connection. 6th. The Thautawars claim to be the original proprietors of the land, a claim acknowledged by the English, as well as the Native inhabitants of the Hills. 7th. The prevailing opinion amongst the latter that these cairns belonged to the early Thautawar people. 8th. The absence of any inscription on any of the vessels dug out of the cairns, considered with reference to the fact of the Thautawars having no written language. 9th. The circumstance of some lascars attempting to open a cairn in search of treasure being compelled to desist in their enterprize by the Thautawars of an adjoining village." Dr. Shortt, in the article above mentioned, says on p. 45: "The Todas themselves attribute the cairns found on the Neilgherries, sometimes to a people who preceded them, at others to the Kurumbas, and that they formed their burial places . . . It is generally believed by the Natives that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of the followers of the Pandean Kings, and that they at one time ruled on the Neilgherries also. The Todas and Badagas likewise believe this, while some of them attribute them to the Kurumbas. The Rev. Mr. Metz is of opinion, and I am inclined to coincide with this gentleman, also of the latter Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 72–110; p. 95." See also J. Wood cairns, lying between Kotagherry and Kodanād, differ less from those under, but the urns are often very fine, with strong glaze and the colour; however, remarkable that the rougher remains are found in the district in which lie the two (probably) oldest Toda mands, and the only cairns claimed by the Todas.. (On p. 96.) At one time, they were generally assigned to the Todas; and Colonel Congreve wrote an elaborate essay to prove the Scythian origin of this people and their claim to the cairns. His large theories, and occasionally incorrect facts, discredited his cause rather unduly, and of late years the cairns have been generally attributed either to the Kurumbas or to an extinct race. Those who held these views, however, seem to have been unaware of, or to have overlooked, the significant fact that the Todas even now burn their dead in a circle of stones and bury the ashes there. Now, not only may the circle of stones be called the fundamental idea of cairns and barrows, but some of them consist of insignificant circles of stones, hardly to be distinguished from Toda *Āzrams* except by the trees or bushes which indicate their greater age... (On p. 97.) It will be seen that these old *Āzārams* (supposing them to be *Āzāams*), shew one or two marked points of approximation to the cairns. 1st They prove that metal ornaments and objects

dian race, of whom Rāvaṇa was an ancient representative. This report is more likely to be true than that which describes them as Rāma's followers who eventually settled in the south.[72]

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of value were in old times actually buried by the Todas, instead of being, as now, only offered to the flames and taken away. 2nd. These objects include iron spears, chisels, and styles? at present unused by the Todas, but common in the cairns. The spears were of rather different shape from most of those figured. An old Toda, who had had possession of the spear of Kotēn, but professed to have lost it, told me that it was something like these, but longer. The style is very like some used in Malabar, hollow at the top; one cannot, however, imagine that *writing* was ever a Toda accomplishment; it may have been used for marking pottery. 3rd. The receptacle for the ashes and remains, instead of being indifferently placed at any side of the circle, was, in three cases out of four, at the north-east edge... (On p. 99.) Against the theory that the cairns belong to the Todas, it has been urged that they do not claim them. This is not strictly correct; they *do*, as has been shown, claim some. But even if the statement were entirely true, it is not of much consequence with a people like Todas. I have known a Toda, while pointing out the *Āzārum* in which a funeral ceremony then going forward was to terminate, profess entire ignorance of the object of some other stone circles close at hand, obviously old *Āzārams* belonging to the same mand; so that the[illegible] claims of the cairns carries little weight. It has been further stated that [illegible] the cairns contain agricultural implements, and must therefore have belonged to a comparatively civilized people. Except the curious shears, which may have been used for various purposes, the only agricultural implements which have appeared in these investigations are sickles. These may have been used for cutting grass and bushes, and it is singular that, although the Todas do not now use any tool of the kind, they burn with the dead *Kafkatti*, a large curved knife, apparently intended for some [illegible]hough, except in one instance the cairn sickles are [illegible]e *Kafkatti*, the flames, is bou[illegible]ed before [illegible]h, traces of [illegible]palanquin bearers [illegible]ble, I think [illegible]p. 202, 252 and 256. About their[illegible]n unknown [illegible]F. Metz, *ibidem*, p. 46: "The Bu[illegible]. pp. 229–[illegible]odas were followers in the train of Rāma [illegible] [illegible]avenge himself on Rayana and that desiring ind[illegible] [illegible]and fled to the Hills; but of this tradition the T[illegible] [illegible]thing"; read also p. 65; and Mr. Grigg's *Manual*, [illegible] [illegible]ead Mr. J. W. Breeks' *Account of the Primitive Tribe[illegible]* [illegible]*f the Nilagiris*, pp. 13-17; and Mr. H. B. Grigg's [illegible] [illegible]6.

The Todas have five kinds of priests, of whom the *Pālāl*s are held in the greatest sanctity. The Pālāls, who are five in number, belong to the highest class of the Todas and have charge of the sacred bells, which they carry to every *Mand* or hamlet. They subsist on the milk of the sacred herd, and have a *Kavalāl* as their attendant. The other priests of lower degree are the Varlāl, Kokvali, Kurpuli and Pālikārpāl. The temples, which are of two kinds, are called *Boa* and *Pālci*, the former being sugarloaf-shaped and the latter like an ordinary house. There are, at present, only four Boas in existence; they may have originally belonged to some other race, as the Todas do not appear to hold them in very great respect, and their ministering priests belong only to the second rank.

The Todas have a large pantheon, but they revere particularly a hunting god called *Bētakan*, the son of Pirkish, the son of Ēn, the first Toda. His temple is at Nambalakōd, in the Wainād. Besides him they worship *Hiriadēva*, whose representative is the sacred buffalo-bell, which hangs from the neck of the finest buffalo of the sacred herd.[73] The buffalo is indigenous only in the south-east of Asia,

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when they say they inhabited the low county. One among these is that their forefathers ... subjects of Rava, and that, being afterwards unable to bear ... posed on them by the successful Ravan, they fled to ... ce of refuge, driving their herds before them, carry... ildren on their shoulders, see p. 24 ... to wear no ... As regards the thi... on their opp...tants of the Hills are capable of execu... "The Tha... degree of art as those on the cromlec... annah ...ird and fifth volumes of the *Indian* ...icles on the funerals, &c., of the Todas, and in ... "At any rate it is clear that these circles (*Azar* ...rmed by the Todas."

...ptain A. Harkness's *Description of a singular Aborigi... Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 24, 25: "The ... bearing reference to a period about the time of

i.e., in South India, Burma an[illegible] It is not a native of the North-West. Th[illegible] property of the original inhabitants must have [illegible] the herds of these animals, which were and[illegible] esteemed and regarded worthy of carrying [illegible] the deity. The worship of the buffalo is a [illegible] ture and can only be traced to very [illegible] figures also in *Māhiṣmatī*, a t[illegible] hose name implies that h[illegible] hin of the fire, or of [illegible] ei allowed unrestrict[illegible] nds. The city was s[illegible] da- varī, most pr[illegible] King *Nīla* of Dak[illegible] mentioned as an ally of [illegible] d in battle by the son of Dr[illegible] a are called the *Māhiṣakas*, [illegible] ka previously to the *Kōlvagir*[illegible] or *Kōlagiri*. This circ[illegible] in pr[illegible] with th[illegible] amed [illegible] ahiṣa, [illegible] Nilagiri The name of the [illegible] s representing the

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Mahabharata:

people of t… …sakrs, a circumstance to which I have prev… …drawn attention in the case of the demon… …d others.

The wo… …when combined with the Marāthi *Bā* for *Bā*… …e the form of *Māhsōbā*, and the demon M… …y held in high veneration among the cult… …ses of the population. A stone… …ad colour and standing… …s his representative. … …e rude stones worship… …ll speak later on. The… …as still adhere is very… …origin of this anci… …tribe. … …the buffalo. This subject deser…

Like other P… …Scythian origin, the Todas … …ne sky, the Sun and the Moo… …ave a very

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[75] D… …ll-known … Accor… sons, the A… … in… object to annihilate the G… went such dreadful auste… son, that the whole world… the sage Suparśva, was d… Diti to bring forth a b… gated this curse by co… mainder of the body…

dim idea of the divine powers; they possess hardly any religious rites; but they firmly believe in the existence of a life after death, in a heaven for the good and a hell for the bad.

The ceremonies at births, marriages and funerals are very curious and have often been described. They bury their dead with the face downwards, a custom which prevails still among the aborigines of some parts of Central India. The Todas go always [illegible] also do the Khonds. The habit of polyandry has excited is mainly [illegible] assum them. race is also prevalent [illegible]ce so different from that of

The interest which [illegible] most picturesque [illegible] to this nd the their fine and striking [illegible] hill tribes [illegible]vators and the love, as other race and to their dwelling in [illegible] in a circle of other stones serves a The Todas are regarded by the [illegible] tructure resembles in this respect th of the soil, and as such exact a tribute by the Kurumbas. Of these I sha How they obtained this supremacy is [illegible]rship of the buffalo to which the To acquisition of their influence is the m[illegible]teresting and may perhaps indicate unless they have greatly changed since [illegible] Some [illegible]ce, they are not a war-like race, and could not have [illegible]ced their way into these hills with the aid of arms. The fact that the Todas enjoy this peaceful supremacy proves them to be very ancient, if not the aboriginal inhabitants of these Hills. The Todas are steadily decreasing in numbers and, according to the last census, numbered only 689. Their reputation as sorcerers stood them in good stead and perhaps frightened into submission those who might otherwise have molested them. The Todas alone among the hill tribes

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block of stone surrounded with smaller pieces, and all covered with red-lead. During the jatra which is held in the month of Chaitra, and lasts for four days, people of all castes, but especially the Kunbis, flock from a circle of a hundred miles, and offer many sheep in sacrifice."

The buffalo was the carrier of Yama, and [illegible] also known as *Mahiṣadhvaja* and *Mahiṣavāhana*. Skanda is [illegible] *sārdana*, and one of his Mātris is called *Mahiṣānanā*. Mahi[illegible]iṣaka or Mahiṣaka are names of people. *Mahiṣasthalī* is th[illegible] *Māhiṣya* that of a mixed caste, and *Māhiṣika* besides meaning a [illegible] also used in the sense of a man who lives by the prostitution of his [illegible] See p. 154.

are not afraid of the Kurumbas, who are generally shunned as wizards.

Very many conjectures have been ventured to explain the term *Toda* or *Tuda*. The *d* in this word is, according to Bishop Caldwell and the Rev. Mr. Metz, *dental* and not *lingual*, as the Rev. Dr. Pope is inclined to believe, for he spells it *Tuda*. Dr. Pope does so probably to support the derivation he proposes. He connects the name of the Toda with the Tamil word *Tōḍa* fold for cattle and derives from it a pronoun that is, the word *Tōḍu* contracted into *Tōḍ* herdsman. The modern other hand to the dictionaries agricultural not of *Toḍuvam* which is tribe.[76] meaning is not given. The word *mēṛōḍuvar* signifies according

Having met with Toda is short. own founded on *Tōḍar* in this but the word the *o* in Tōḍar is he was rich in buffaloes. The long, while *Agni*, prevailed here, and wom- Moreover, the people who keep these ed liberty in the choice of their herdsmen, but agriculturists. On the has are a pastoral, and not an agricultural uated the plateau south of the ly of the Krishna

th no explanation which satisfies me, I venture to propose one myself. I believe that the *t* in Toda or Tuda is a modification of an original *k*, and that the real name is Koda or Kuda. This I explain as a derivation of

[76] See Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 636, where *Toḍuvar* தோடுவர் is explained as agriculturists, மருதநிலமாக்கள். In Col. Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas* the first note on p. 1 is as follows: "Todan. Tamil, Toravam and Tōram = *a herd*. And thus Toravan or Tōran= *herdsman*. (Pope)." Compare Bishop Caldwell's Introduction *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 37: "Dr. Pope connects the name of the Todas with the Tamil word *Toṛa*, a herd; but the *d* of Tuda is not the lingual *ḍ*, but the dental, which has no relationship to *ṛ* or *ḷ*. The derivation of the name may be regarded as at present unknown." The Rev. F. Kittel writes to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 205: "In Part XXIX of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 93 *seq.* the name of a well-known small tribe on the Nilagiri is given as 'Toda.' The lingual ḍ in this word is not in the mouth of the people, these pronouncing it 'Toda.' The same remark is to be made on the word '*Kōṭa*' on p. 96; the true spelling of this name is Kōḍa. The word 'Toda' may mean 'man of the top,' scil. of the hill, and may be derived from various Dravida roots; it is difficult to say what the true meaning is. Certainly it does not mean 'cow-killers,' as some have thought."

ko or *ku*, mountain and *Koda* or *Kuda* signifies then a mountaineer. The change of *k* into *t* is perhaps not very common, yet it takes place occasionally. The Tamil *kēḷ* to ask, is, *e.g.*, *tal* in Gondi; the Irula *kālage*, below, corresponds to *tāḻa* in Tamil and Malayālam; the Kurg *kidatu* and the Tamil *kiḻē*, below, is *tirt* in Tulu. The town *Kondōta*, mentioned by Ptolemy, is likewise called *Tondōta*, and the district *Khandesh* is also known as *Tandesh*. The same change can be observed in the middle of a word, as the Sanskrit *tilaka* frontal mark, becomes optionally *tilakam* and *tilatam* in Tamil, and *sāttvika* is altered into *cāttuvikam* or *cāttuvitam*.[77]

Peculiarly enough, when inquiring into their name, I was informed by various Natives and even by some Todas that the Todavar ⵟⵙⴰⵡⴰⵔ are also called Kodavar ⵇⵙⴰⵡⴰⵔ.[78]

And this statement which supports my conjecture is upheld by several names of persons and places. I take thus Kodanād, which lies near Kōtagiri, and is the seat of one of the Pālāḷs containing some of the most ancient Todamands in the sense of denoting the district of the Kodas.[79] One of

[77] The generally accepted derivation of Telugu or Telinga is from *Triliṅga*, but this remains doubtful as the term Triliṅga is a corruption of Trikalinga, to which the *Modogalingam* of Pliny corresponds: "Insula in Gange est magnæ amplitudinis gentem continens unam, *Modogalingam* nomine;" Hist. Natur. Lib. VI, cap. 22. If Telinga is a modified form of Kalinga, this word would provide another example of the interchange between a *k* and *t*. About *Tandesh*, see p. 159, n. 54.

The *t* is occasionally chosen as the representative of all the others consonants, Kaumārila is thus playfully changed into *Tautātita* in Vedāntadeśikācārya's *Tattvamuktākalāpa*, and pāduka into *tātuta* in the *Pāduka-sahasra* of the same author.

[78] T. C. Madurandaka Pillai, the clerk of Major-General Morgan, has told me of his own accord that he has often heard the Todavar call themselves and be called Kodavar. Some Kōtas whom I asked confirmed this evidence. A few Todas told me the same. They might have said so to please me, but they had no reason for so doing, as I had not expressed to them any opinion on that subject.

[79] Kodanād lies on the north of Paranganād. It contains one of the oldest mands and between it and Kōtagiri are found the sculptured Cromlechs of Hlaruru. Some derive the name of Kodanad from *kōḍan*, the Toda word for monkey, which corresponds to the Kōta term *kōḍe*, and the Badaga, Kurumba, and Irula *koraṅgu*. But the presence of the common

the ancestors of the Todas is called Kotēn,[80] and the Hulikaldrug is also named Kodātha-betta, after the god Kodātha.[81]

The Todas have many customs which are also met with among other tribes, *e.g.*, among the Kols. But this coincidence does not prove the existence of any relationship. The same rites and practices often prevail among totally different people who live at a great distance from one another. The singular custom by which the youngest son becomes heir to the property in opposition to the law of *primogeniture* is observed by the Todas in South India as well as by some Holstein peasants in North Germany.

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brown monkey *koḍan* (*tūruni* being the black monkey) is hardly a distinctive feature of any district on the hills. It is perhaps possible that the Todas changed the initial letter of their original name in order to avoid any allusion to that of the monkey.

[80] About Kotēn read Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiri*, pp. 34, 36, 37, 97, 99. Kotēn is said to have brought the Kōtas up to the hills, though they are also represented to have been born on the hills, p. 36: "Kotēn went to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pālāls*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri* called by the Todas Merkōkal" . . . 37. "After this, Kotēn went to a Kurumbah village in Bāni Shima, and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swāmi woman, by name Terkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotēn returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotēn kept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Terkosh were transformed into two hills, . . on the Sisapāra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits. The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Terkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotēn. (Thus five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, *viz.*:—Dirkish, Kodatha, Pūrsh, Kotēn, and Terkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt to Maleswaramalē)."

[81] About Kodātha read *ibidem*, p. 35: "One day the Gods took counsel, saying 'why does the kite come here, let us drive him out'; so one of them, Kodatha, took the kite home to Kodatha-betta (Hulikaldurga), and pushed him over; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodatha's head, so that it split into three pieces."

Though it is difficult as yet to decide definitively the ethnological status of the Todas, I believe I have been successful in assigning them to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidian race.

The Kōtas.

Next to the Kuṟumbas and Todas the Kōtas are the most ancient inhabitants of the Nīlagiri range. According to Toda tradition Kotōn introduced them to these hills. Though they are regarded as the Pariah element among the hill-tribes, it is possible that they were originally more nearly related to the Todas, whom they call their *annata-malu*, *i.e.*, brothers. They have many customs in common with the Todas, *e.g.*, that which constitutes the youngest brother as heir of the house, a practice which seems also to prevail among the Kurumbas. They recognize no caste distinctions, but are sub-divided into *Keris* or streets. They are a very industrious tribe and devote themselves to agriculture and to various sorts of handicrafts. They excel as carpenters, smiths, tanners, basket-makers, &c. They acknowledge the Todas as the lords of the soil, and pay them tribute (*gūdu*). They are well-formed, of average height, not bad featured and fair-skinned. They live in seven villages, one of which is in the neighbourhood of Gūḍalūr.[82] The last census fixes their

[82] Compare Dr. Shortt's *Account of the Tribes of the Neilgherries*, pp. 53-57: "This tribe ranks next to the Todas in priority of occupation of these hills. They have no caste, and are in this respect equal to the Pariahs of the low country; and as a body, are the most industrious of the hill tribes, giving much of their time and attention to agriculture and handicraft, &c. . . . They also employ themselves as *Curriers*, and are highly esteemed in the plains for the excellent leather they cure . . . They acknowledge the Todas as lords of the soil. . . At the same time they exact from each hamlet of the Badagas within certain distance of their own village, certain annual fees, which they receive in kind for services rendered as handicraftsmen, &c., in addition to that of ceremonial or festive occasions for menial services performed . . . In confirmation of their having followed the Todas as settlers on these Hills they hold the best lands, and have the privilege of selecting the best whenever they wish to extend their holdings. They are well made and of tolerable height, rather good featured and

number at 1,122 souls, 55 Kōtas are assigned to the Bombay Presidency.[83]

It seems probable that the Todas and Kōtas lived near each other before the settlement of the latter on the Nīlagiri. Their dialects too betray a great resemblance, and, if my conjecture concerning the original name of the Todas is confirmed, their names at first were also much alike.[84] The Kōtas are the only hill people who are not afraid of the Todas, and they treat them occasionally even with bare courtesy, though, as a rule, a Kōta, when meeting a Toda and Badaga, lifts both his hands to his face and makes his obeisance from a distance. They do also not, like the other hill-tribes, stand in awe of the mysterious power of witchcraft, with which the Todas are credited.

According to a tradition of theirs they lived formerly on Kollimalai, a mountain in Mysore.[85] They possess, like most Hindus, a tradition concerning their special creation. Their god, Kamatarāya, perspired once profusely and "he "wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and "out of them formed the most ancient of the hill-tribes, viz., "the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to "live principally upon milk; the Kurumbas were permitted

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light-skinned, having a copper color, and some of them are the fairest-skinned among the Hill tribes. They have well formed heads, covered with long black hair, grown long and let loose, or tied up carelessly at the back of the head. . . The women are of moderate height, of fair build of body, and not nearly so good-looking as the men." Read also Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 40–47; and Metz, pp. 127–132.

[83] The Census mentions 3,232 *Kotamali* in the North-Western Provinces, 1,112 *Kotakas*, 572 *Kotayas* and 1,076 *Kottharas* in Madras.

[84] See Rev. F. Metz, *loco citato*, p. 127: "The close affinity existing between the language of the Todas and that of the Kotas leads me to believe that both these tribes came from the same quarter, and that they probably settled on the Neilgherries at about the same period."

[85] See Metz, *ibidem*, p. 127: "According to one of their traditions, the Kotas formerly lived on a mountain in Mysore, called Kollimalé, after which they named the first village they built on the Neilgherries. They now occupy seven tolerably large villages, all of which are known by the general name of Kotagiri, or Cow-killers' hill."

"to eat the flesh of buffalo calves; and the Kotas were "allowed perfect liberty in the choice of their food, being "informed that they might eat carrion, if they could get "nothing better, and beef also, though it is repulsive to all "Hindu notions." [86]

It is wrong to connect the name of the Kōtas with cow-slaying and to derive it from the Sanskrit *gō-hatyā*. This derivation seems to have been suggested from *Kohatūr*, one of the corrupted forms of the name of the Kōtar or Kōter. According to the late Mr. Breeks, in his *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, p. 40: "The Todas call them Kuof, or cow-people;" but singularly enough the Toda word for cow is *danam*, like the Kuṛumba and Badaga *dana*. Dr. Pope on the other hand goes so far as to contend that the Todas had no word for cow; a statement which I regard as extremely venturous. However in both circumstances, if the Todas have no term for cow, or if that term is *danam*, they could not have called the Kōtas, *Kuof* or cow-people. Moreover, the Kōtas would not call themselves by such a name, nor would the Todas and the other hill-tribes who have no knowledge of Sanskrit apply a Sanskrit word to designate their neighbours. The derivation of the term *Kōta* is, as clearly indicated, from the Gauda-Dravidian word *ko*, (*ku*), mountain, and the Kōtas belong to the Gaudian branch.[87] It is a peculiar coincidence

[86] Metz, pp. 27 and 128: "The Kotas are the only of all the hill tribes who practise the industrial arts, and they are therefore essential almost to the very existence of the other classes. They work in gold and silver, are carpenters and blacksmiths, tanners and rope-makers, umbrella-makers, potters, and musicians, and are at the same time cultivators of the soil. They are, however, a squalid race, living chiefly on carrion, and are on this account a bye-word among the other castes, who, while they feel that they cannot do without them, nevertheless abhor them for their filthy habits. All the cattle that die in the villages are carried off by the Kotas, and feasted on by them, in common with the vultures, with whose tastes their own precisely agree; and at no time do the Kotas thrive so well as when there is murrain among the herds of the Todas and Badagas."

[87] See Breeks, p. 40: "The name is found differently spelt. Kota, Kotar, Koter, Kohatūr. The derivation is uncertain. Kohata or Gohata,

that according to the statement of Mr. Ramiah, Deputy Superintendent of Mysore, the "Lingayet Pañchālas (workers in metals) and Huttagars are called Kotars in this part of the country (Harihar), and they worship Kāma (god) and Kurymena (goddess)." To this remark Mr. Breeks [88] adds: "Also that a caste of the same name exists in Mārwār and Guzerat." Dr. Fr. Buchanan makes a similar remark about the goddess of the Pañcālas.[89]

The occupation and the worship of the Mysore Kōtas confirmed to a certain degree the tradition of the Nīlagiri Kōtas when they contend that they came from Mysore.

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cow-killer, has been suggested, but this seems doubtful. The Todas call them Kuof, or cow-people." Read also Mr. H. B. Grigg's *District Manual*, pp. 203–213. On p. 203 he says: "The name is differently spelt Kōtu, Kōter, Kōtar, Kōhatur and Kotturs. Its derivation is doubtful. The Todas call them *Kuof* or cow-men, and, arguing from this word, some connect it with *Kō* (Sans.) cow, and *hatya*, *i.e.*, cow-killing. The first part of the derivation is probably correct. They are emphatically men of the *cow*, as opposed to the *buffalo*, the animal of the Tōda. The latter they are never allowed to keep; the former they keep, but do not, for superstitious reasons, milk." Compare note 76 on p. 190 where Rev. F. Kittel also decides against the explanation of *Kota* as cow-killer.

The Rev. Dr. Pope peculiarly enough declares on page 261 of his Tuḍa Grammar in Lieut.-Colonel Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas*: "*N.B.*—No Tuḍa word for cow, plough, sword, or shield." Yet according to Rev. F. Metz's Vocabulary of the Toda Dialect in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XVII (1857), p. 136, and to Mr. Breeks' Vocabulary, on p. 113, the Toda equivalent for cow is *danam*. Rev. F. Metz, *loco citato*, gives *nēkhel* as the Toda word for plough, and *uṛthōini* (pronounced *uḷthōini*) for to plough.

[88] See Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, p. 47.

[89] See Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Madras, 1870, vol. I, p. 477: "The deity peculiar to the caste (of the Panchalar) is *Camachuma*, or *Kalima*, who is, they say, the same with *Parvati*, the wife of *Siva*." Compare Breeks' *Primitive Tribes*, p. 44: "The chief Kota festival, however, is the annual feast of Kāmatarāya, called *Kambata* or *Kamata*." Read also Grigg's *Manual*, p. 205: "The Kōtas had, it is said, formerly but one deity Kāmatarāya, but they also worship his wife (Kahasuma or Kalikai), each is represented by a silver plate. The god is also called Kambata and Kāmata." *Kāmata* may be of Sanskrit origin. Kāmadēva is a name of Śiva, and Kāmakṣi one of Durgā or Kāli. కామము '*kāmāṭamu*' signifies in Telugu workmaan.

CHAPTER XI.

On the Kuṟavas (Kuṟuvas, Kuṟumas), Koṟacaru, Kurus (Yerakulas), Kaurs, Kunnuvas.

The above-mentioned names are representative terms of various kindred tribes who live scattered in this country. While a considerable majority of their relatives in Northern India have embraced agricultural pursuits and form a preponderant element of the rustic population, many of their cousins in Southern India still cling to their old mountain homes, or roam as migratory hordes over the country, or are leading a pastoral life as shepherds.

For the sake of lucidity I shall consider these tribes under separate heads and begin with the wandering Kuṟavas.

On the Kuṟavas (Kuṟuvas, Kuṟumas), Koṟacaru, &c.

These wandering tribes are known over the greater part of India as Kuṟavas (Koṟavas) or Kuṟumas. They are also known as Koṟacaru (Korcaru, Korsaru or Kuṟuciyar), which term may be either a variation of Koṟa'va, the *v* being changed into *c*, or, as has been suggested, may be explained as a mixed compound from *koṟa* mountain and the Sanskrit root *car*, to go, so that it means hill-walkers. In this case their name reminds one of their Dravidian brothers the Malacar (Malasar). Dr. Francis Buchanan by calling the Koṟagas of South-Kanara Koṟavas, identifies them with the latter. At another place, however, he names the Koṟavas also Koramas.

In consequence of their roving life and the begging and cheating propensities which so many Kuṟavas exhibit, they are much disliked and shunned.[90] They wander continually

[90] Compare Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, second edition, vol. I, pp. 174, 175: "The *Coramas*, or *Coramarù*, are a set of people considered by the *Brâhmans* as an impure or mixed breed. They make baskets and trade in grain and salt to a considerable extent; but none of them can read or write.

from one place to another, gaining a precarious livelihood by making and selling wicker baskets of bamboo and reed grass, or mats and other household utensils of bamboo. Some of them also know how to prepare metal wires of steel, copper, and iron. They are famous bird-catchers, clever snake-jugglers, and very experienced hunters. If nothing else offers, they pierce the ears of children to insert ornaments, or tattoo the limbs of persons who desire this embellishment of their body. Most of their women are fortune tellers, while the men profess often to be conjurors.

They live, in general, in small camps of moveable huts, which are sometimes stationary near large towns; but they are often in a state of daily motion, while the people are following the mercantile concerns. The *Coramas* consist of four families, *Maydraguta*, *Cavadiru*, *Maynapatru*, and *Satipatru*. These are analogous to the Gôtrams of the Brâhmans; for a man and woman of the same family never intermarry, being considered as too nearly allied by kindred. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and purchase them from their parents. The agreement is made for a certain number of *fanams*, which are to be paid by instalments, as they can be procured by the young woman's industry; for the women of this caste are very diligent in spinning and carrying on petty traffic. When the bargain has been made, the bridegroom provides four sheep, and some country rum, and gives a feast to the caste, concluding the ceremony by wrapping a piece of new cloth round his bride. Should a man's wife prove unfaithful, he generally contents himself with giving her a beating, as she is too valuable to be parted with on slight grounds; but, if he chooses, she may be divorced. In this case, he must assemble the caste to a feast, where he publicly declares his resolution; and the woman is then at liberty to marry any person that she chooses, who is willing to take her. The *Coramas* do not follow nor employ the *Brâhmans*; nor have they any priests, or sacred order. When in distress, they chiefly invoke *Vencaty Râmana*, the *Tripathi Vishnu*, and vow small offerings of money to his temple, should they escape. They frequently go into the woods and sacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, and sheep, to *Muni*, who is a male deity; and is said by the *Brâhmans* to be a servant of *Iswara*; but of this circumstance the *Coramas* profess ignorance. They, as usual, eat the sacrifice. They have no images, nor do they worship any. Once in two or three years the *Coramas* of a village make a collection among themselves, and purchase a brass pot, in which they put five branches of the *Melia azadirachta* and a coco-nut. This is covered with flowers, and sprinkled with sandal-wood water. It is kept in a small temporary shed for three days, during which time the people feast and drink, sacrificing lambs and fowls to Marima, the daughter of *Siva*. At the end of the three days they throw the pot into the water."

Read also Abbé J. A. Dubois' *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India*, third edition, Madras, 1879, pp. 336–338: "The

They generally bury their dead in solitary and unknown places at night, and the traces of their dead disappear so completely that the Natives have a common saying: "Nobody has seen a monkey's carcass or the corpse of a Kuṟava," and if anything is irretrievably lost the fact is intimated by the proverb: "It has gone to the burial place of the Kuṟavas and to the dancing room of the wandering actors."

As a rule they do not acknowledge the priestly supremacy of the Brahmans, nor do they worship Hindu divinities, unless Hinduized to a certain extent. However, many

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vagrants called Kuravers are divided into three branches. One of these is chiefly engaged in the traffic of salt, which they go, in bands, to the coasts to procure, and carry it to the interior of the country on the backs of asses, which they have in great droves. . . . The trade of another branch of the Kuravers is the manufacture of osier panniers, wicker baskets, and other household utensils of that sort, or bamboo mats. This class, like the preceding, are compelled to traverse the whole country, from place to place, in quest of employment. . . . The third species of Kuravers is generally known under the name of *Kaḷḷa-Bantru* or robbers; and indeed those who compose this caste are generally thieves or sharpers, by profession and right of birth. The distinction of expertness in filching belongs to this tribe. . . The Kaḷḷa-Bantru are so expert in this species of robbery (of cutting through the mud wall an opening sufficiently large to pass through), that, in less than half-an-hour, they will carry off a rich lading of plunder, without being heard or suspected till day-light discloses the villainy."

See Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, p. 142: "*Koravar*, a tribe of thieves and vagabonds wandering about the districts of the Carnatic. This tribe is common to several districts. Among the Tamils these people are called Koravars, but by the Telugus, Yerakalas. In North Arcot they mortgage their unmarried daughters to pay their creditors when unable to pay their debts. In some districts they obtain their wives by purchase, giving a sum varying from thirty to seventy rupees. The clans into which they are divided do not intermarry. In Madura and South Arcot the Koravars are hawkers, petty traders, dealers in salt, jugglers, box-makers, breeders of pigs and donkeys; and are a drunken and dissolute race." Compare J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, p. 69, about the *Kuravans*.

Consult further Dr. Edward Balfour "On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XIII, 1844, pp. 9-12: "The *Korawa*. This migratory people arrange themselves into four divisions, the Bajantri, Teling, Kolla, and Soli Korawas, speaking the same language, but none of them intermarrying or eating with each other. Whence they originally migrated it would be difficult perhaps now to come to a conclusion, nor could it be correctly ascertained how far they extend. The Bajantri, or Gaon ka Korawa, the musical or village Korawa, are met

revere Vēṅkaṭēśvara of Tripati, or Śiva and Kālī in their cruder forms, the latter especially as *Mariamma;* Gurunātha, a village god, whose presence is indicated by a rude stone situated under a tree, is also an object of their veneration, though some Kuṟumbas claim him as their special god. Their own elders generally fill the position of priests.

They practise polygamy and are said to pawn their wives for debt. Their family disputes are decided by arbitrators, but they often nurse their quarrels to such an extent that an interminable law suit is called a Kuṟava's strife.

They have different sub-divisions in various parts of the country, either according to their various clans or the occupation they follow, and the latter soon becomes a tribal distinction. Dr. Francis Buchanan mentions a classification

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with in Bejapore, Bellary, Hyderabad and throughout Canara. . . Their food differs from that of the Hindoo as well as the Mahomedan; they never eat the cow or bullock, but the jackal, porcupine, hog and wild boar, deer and tigers are sought after and used by them. They deny that robbery is ever made a regular mode of earning a subsistence; an honesty, however, that the people among whom they dwell give them but little credit for. They live by thieving, making grass screens and baskets. The men likewise attend at festivals, marriages, and births, as musicians, which has obtained for them the name of Bajantri. . . The women, too, earn a little money by tattooing on the skin the marks and figures of the gods, which the females of all castes of Hindus ornament their arms and foreheads with. . . The age for marrying is not a fixed time; and, different from every other people in India, the youth of the female is not thought of consequence. . . . It is not unusual to have two, three, or four wives in one household, among this people. . . This people live virtuously; the abandonment of their daughters is never made a trade of, and other classes speak favorably of their chastity. They respect Brahmins; though they never . . seem to respect the gods of the Hindoo mythology. . . . The Teling Korawa (generally known as Kusbi, Korawa, Aghare Pal Wale, prostitute Korawas) gain a livelihood by basket-making and selling brooms, in making which their wives assist; but their chief means of subsistence is in the prostitution of their female relatives whom, for that purpose, they devote to the gods from their birth. . . The goddess, in whose service the lives of the Teling Korawas' devoted women are thus to be spent, has her chief shrine near Bellary. They never devote more than one of their daughters; the rest are married and made honest women of . . This branch bury their dead, and the food that was most liked by the deceased is placed at the head of the grave. The most favorable omen of the state of the departed soul is drawn from its being eaten by a crow; less auspicious if by a cow; but if both the crow and cow decline to

based on the family system, while Abbé Dubois gives another derived from occupation, and Dr. Balfour prefers one of local origin.

In the census report these people are arranged under different heads, and their aggregate number amounts to nearly 175,000.[91]

On the Kuṟus (Yerakulas) and Kaurs.

Another tribe who are acknowledged as a separate class of the Kuṟavas are the *Yerakulavāṇḍlu* or *Yerakalavāru*, who call themselves *Kuṟu*, *Kuluvuru* or *Kola*, while the Tamil people designate them as *Kuṟavar*, whom they resemble in their manners and customs.[92] They live in

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eat it, they deem the dead to have lived a very depraved life, and impose a heavy fine on his relatives for having permitted such evil ways."

About the name consult *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, by H. H. Wilson, p. 294: "*Koracharu*, also *Korcharu*, *Korvaru*, or *Korsaru*, &c., corruptly *Korchoor*. The name of a tribe in the Karnatic, whose business is making bamboo mats and baskets, or who carry betelnuts from market to market: they live in the hills and forests.

"*Koravarava*, *Koramaruvanu*, or *Koravanu*, or abbrev. *Koravar*, *Koramar*. . . The name of a low tribe in Mysore, of which there are three branches—*Kalla-koramar*, who are professed thieves; *Walaga-koramar*, who are musicians; and *Hakki-koramar*, who are a migratory race, and subsist by making baskets, catching birds, &c.: they are hill and forest tribes and have a dialect of their own: (the name may be only a local modification of *Kola*, or *Cole*, the hill tribes of Hindustan)." On p. 305: "*Kuruchchiyan*, or *Kurumaṉ*, Mal. A class of people inhabiting the hills in Wynad."

[91] According to the Census Report of 1881, there were registered in India 7,875 *Kurumar* in Madras, 1,071 *Gorcha* in the North-Western Provinces, 24 Hakikoraw in Hyderabad, 11,864 *Korachar* in Mysore, 110,473 *Koravar* in Madras and Travancore, 597 *Korchar* in Bombay, 3,448 *Koruviavasayar* in Madras, 14,106 *Korvi* in Bombay, 1,001 *Kuravandlu* in Madras, 31,644 *Kura* in the Central Provinces, 14 *Kuravar* in the Central Provinces, and 3,135 *Kurwai* in Hyderabad, &c.

[92] Consult H. H. Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 560, 561: "*Yerkullevar*, (?) Tel. probably for *Erukuvāḍu*, pl. *Erukuvāṇḍlu*, and the same as those corruptly termed *Yerkelwanloo*, *Yera-kedi*, *Yerakelloo* (ಎರಕಲವರು). The designation of a wild migratory tribe who subsist on game and all sorts of flesh; they make and sell baskets and mats, and are considered as outcastes: both men and women pretend to be fortune-tellers and conjurors: they are also said to be called *Koorshe-wānlu*, *Yerkel-wanloo* (*wānlu*, or more correctly *vāṇḍlu*, being only the plural of *vāḍu*), *Yera-kedi*, and *Yerakelloo*, but to be known amongst themselves as *Kuṟṟu*; they are possibly the same who appear

like manner under tents fixed by bamboo poles and covered with mats made of reed grass. They are also continually roaming about, avoiding villages and towns and preferring to pitch their tents in some open ground a few miles distant from inhabited places, only to strike them again after a few days' stay. They thus wander over Hyderabad, the Ceded Districts, and other adjacent provinces. Their tents of which every family possesses a separate one, with a few

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among the predial slaves in Kûrg under the name of *Yerrwanroo*, *i.e.*, *Erra-vândlu*, ? red men, or *Yevaru* q.v. or *Yerlan*, or *Erehlen*, (?) also specified amongst, the servile races of Kûrg."

Further see "The Migratory Races of India," by Assistant Surgeon Edward Balfour, Madras Army, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XVII (1857), pp. 4-9: "The *Coorroo*. This seems to be a branch of the *Korawa* people, two divisions of whom . . were described by me in an article on the Migratory Tribes of India . . This wandering race occupy the Ceded Districts and are called by Mahomedans 'Koorshe Wanloo;' Telings give them the names of 'Yerkel wanloo,' 'Yera keedi,' and 'Yera kelloo,' and the Aravas know them as Coortee; but their designation among themselves is Coorroo, the *rr* being pronounced by them with a loud thrilling sound. I believe them to be a branch of the Korawa people from the similarity of their customs, and from their using similar articles of diet, but the term *korawa* was quite new to this community, who, although familiar with the appellations of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, told me that Coorroo was the only name they ever designated themselves by . . They live in huts constructed of mats, very neatly woven from a long grass, named in Telagoo "zamboo," which grows in the beds of tanks, and which they spread over a bamboo frame work. They are incessantly on the move, wandering about the country, and they never reside inside of towns, but pitch their little camps on open plains three or four miles from some inhabited place. They rarely remain above two or three days in one spot and their journeys are of considerable length. The value of one of their huts would hardly amount to half a rupee (one shilling), asses, goats and pigs constitute their wealth; the two last of these they use as food and sell for money in towns. They, likewise, earn a little by selling grass mats and baskets made of canes and bamboos, the handy-work of the men, but which are sold by the women . . . Each family in their communities lives apart in its own hut, constructed, as above-mentioned, by the mats woven by themselves.. The men informed me that they usually marry about the time that their mustaches appear (18 years of age ?) with women who have attained maturity, and a bride is never taken to her husband's hut before two months after this period of her life. They marry one wife only, but they can keep as many of their women as they choose. The greatest number, however, that any of my informants remembered to have seen in one man's hut, was one wife and three kept women; this latter class being in general widows. . .

asses, goats, and pigs represent their property. They earn besides a precarious living by selling grass-mats and cane or bamboo-baskets, which are made by the men, but hawked about and sold by the women. In their wanderings they sometimes commit all sorts of robberies and often are troublesome dacoits and highway robbers.

Accounts vary about their marriage customs. According to some, the *tâli* or marriage string is bound round the

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The marriage ceremony consists in sprinkling rice and turmeric over the bride and bridegroom's head; and after it is over the bride returns to her parents and remains with them for five days... The Coorroo attaches much importance to the purity of their unmarried females, but they regard a want of integrity in their married women as a trivial matter.... They drink all sorts of intoxicating drinks, but never use opium or any of the preparations from hemp.. They never use the flesh of the horse, jackall, tiger, cheetah, or crow; but they eat the hog, mouse, rat, wild rat, and fowls.. It is difficult to say what their religion is. They do not bind on the *tali* in marriage, or use any of the Hindu sectarian marks on their foreheads, neither do they revere the Brahmans or any religious superior, nor perform any religious ceremony at any Hindu or Budhist temple, but they told me that, when they pray, they construct a small pyramid of clay which they term Mariammah and worship it. But though they seem thus almost without a form of religion, the women had small gold and silver ornaments suspended from cords round their necks and which they said had been supplied to them by a goldsmith from whom they had ordered figures of Mariamma. The form represented is that of the goddess Kali, the wife of Siva. They mentioned that they had been told by their forefathers that, when a good man dies, his spirit enters the body of some of the better animals as that of a horse or cow, and that a bad man's spirit gives life to the form of a dog or jackall; but though they told me this they did not seem to believe it. They believe firmly, however, in the existence and constant presence of a principle of evil, who, they say, frequently appears... When they die the married people are burned, but the unmarried are buried quite naked without a shroud or kufn, or other clothing, a custom which some other castes in India likewise follow... The Coorroo people are naturally of bamboo-color, though tanned by the sun into a darker hue. Their faces are oval with prominent bones, their features having something of the Tartar expression of countenance... The dialect spoken by the 'Coorroo' as their lingua franca, in their intercourse with the people of the country, is the Teloogoo, and I was surprised to find them entirely ignorant of the Canarese language although living exclusively among the Canarese nation."

Compare also Mr. [illegible] Stokes' account of these people in the *Manual of the Nellore District*, compiled edited by Mr. John A. C. Boswell, M.C.S., pp. 154–157: "The [illegible] they Yerukalas) wander from place to place, as they find it easy [illegible] making, pitching their huts generally in open places near villages. Their property consists principally of cattle and asses,

neck of the woman; according to others this is not the case. This discrepancy may be explained by some having adopted the usual Hindu customs, while others still keep aloof from them. With respect to their religious worship the same observation may hold good. There is no doubt that originally they did not worship any Hindu deities, nor did they in consequence perform any religious ceremonies at any Hindu shrine, nor revere the Brahmans as their religious superiors. In fact the

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and they act as carriers of salt and grain; they cut firewood in the jungles and sell it in the villages; they also gather and sell a leaf called karepaku (the black margosa); they eat game, flesh of all sorts, and jungle roots. They all, both women and men, pretend to tell fortunes; these people, like all the wandering tribes of the district, are basket-makers. . . They are stout men and very hardy in constitution. Like the Yanadies they tie their hair in a knot over the forehead. Lieutenant Balmer, in his letter to the Collector, dated 22nd May 1865, No. 317, writes the following as to the Yerukalas: 'The crimes they are addicted to are dacoity, highway robbery, and robbery; they are the most troublesome of our wanderers.'. . The gods whom they chiefly worship are Mahalakshmi and Venkatesvara (to whom the Trippati temple is sacred), and they also sacrifice to the pitris, or manes of their ancestors. They state generally that all gods worshipped by Hindus are worshipped by them. The old men of the tribe are priests. Each tribe or family has a god, which is carried about with the encampment. One, which I have seen, was a piece of wicker-work, about five inch square, cased in black canvas, one side being covered with white sea-shells imbedded in a red paste. It was called Polaperamma. Polygamy is practised among the Yerukalas, and the number of wives is only limited by the means of the husband. There is no polyandria, nor is there any trace of the custom, which sometimes is found among rude tribes, of the brothers of a family having their wives in common. The marriage string is always tied round the neck of the wife. The females are said not to marry till they are full grown. The ceremony usually takes place on a Sunday, *puja* having been made on the Saturday. Rice mixed with turmeric is poured on the head of the married couple; the marriage string is tied on, and the ceremony is complete. During the lifetime of her husband a wife may not marry another man, but after his death she may if she wishes. . . A man supports all his children by all his wives. If he has a great number, the brothers will take some of them; but when they are grown up they return to their father's family. Sons so reared will, through gratitude, support their uncles in old age. . . I have collected a number of words and phrases of the Yerukalas among themselves—a language which is unintelligible to the Telugu people. The most cursory glance at these is sufficient to produce the conviction that it is a Tamil dialect. It has been considerably mixed, as is to be expected, with Telugu and Canarese, but in its structure it is plainly Tamil. The Yerukalas understand Tamil when spoken, and it is superfluous to state analogies between their dialect and Tamil, inasmuch as

old men of the tribe are to this day their priests. They mainly worship Māriamma or Pōlēramma, an image of whom generally accompanies each tribe in its wanderings. The god Vēṅkaṭēśvara of Tripati is also held in respect by a great many. They generally keep a lamp burning night and day in their encampments before which they offer up prayers.

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the former is nothing but a patois of the latter, in which Telugu and Canarese words are freely used. There can be no doubt as to the fact that the Yerukalas are a Tamil tribe, but there are some points connected with the name and language which seem to throw further light on the question. The name has two forms in Telugu, one Yerukuvandlu, said by Brown and Campbell to be derived from 'Erugu' to know, and to have reference to their fortune-telling powers, and one Yerukulavandlu; the first of this word is evidently not a plural of 'Yeruku,' but a distinct word. This seems to be recognized by Brown and Wilson, who conjecture that 'Yeru' is a prefix to be connected by the word 'erra' red. . . The Yerukulas in this district state that their tribe name in their own language is 'Kurru,' also, Kola; and I think there can be no doubt that the 'Yer' or 'Yeru' is a mere prefix and that 'Kala,' Wilson's 'Kullevar' represents the real name of the tribe. To connect 'Yer' or 'Yeru' with the Telugu 'erra,' red, seems quite meaningless; it might perhaps be compared with 'Yervaru' mentioned by Wilson, or which seems more plausible to suppose it to be the word 'Yeruku' (which, as has been said, is one designation of the tribe in Telugu, compounded with the real tribe name 'Kurruvandlu,' or Kolavandlu, when, according to a common euphonic law in Telugu, the two 'k's' would coalesce and the word becomes Yerukkalavandlu. The second 'k' would easily be dropped, and the word assume its common form Yerukalavandlu. I have been unable to find that there are any traditions among these people as to the country from which they came; one of them indignantly repudiated the notion of a Tamil origin. The language, however, and the tribe name 'Kurru' seems to me unmistakeably to point to the identity of this tribe with the well-known Kuravar or Koravar of the Tamil districts."

The *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions* contains in vol. I, pp. 326–28, an account of the Yerakulavandlu: "The *Yarkalwars* are a nomad tribe living in huts made of palmyra leaves or reeds. They are found in some of the eastern districts of the Dominions. They live on the flesh of swine, game and carrion, and a little grain they may get in barter for the mats and baskets they construct. They snare birds with bird-lime, and they have a small breed of dogs with which they kill hares. They kill most of the dogs when young, but retain the bitches, to which, when they are intended for hunting, they give a certain root that renders them barren. Brahmans will not approach the Yarkalwars but the Jangam of the Lingayets is more pliant, and on the occasion of a death, for a present of some grain, he attends and blows his conch. Their marriage ceremonies consist in a headman whom they elect for the occasion, and place on a

The explanation of their by-name *Yerukulavāṇḍlu* (Yerukalavāṇḍlu, Yerakalavāṇḍlu or Yerikalavāṇḍlu) offers some difficulties. Scholars like C. P. Brown and H. H. Wilson are inclined to take *yeru* in the meaning of *erra*, red; but there does not seem sufficient ground for this derivation. It is true, and I have elsewhere alluded to the fact, that Scythian tribes use occasionally terms signifying color, in order to represent political positions; black, *e.g.*, indicating, under these circumstances, dependence and servitude, and white liberty and sovereignty. I have not observed, however, this

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throne of turf, putting rice on the heads of the young people, and uttering some mystic words; a pig is then killed, the flesh is cooked and eaten, and ample as their experience must be of the qualities of every kind of flesh, they are unanimous in declaring that pork is superior to all. They then jump about, beat their bellmetal vessels, and the whole concludes by the whole party, male and female, getting drunk. One of their customs is very peculiar. On the occasion of a birth the husband is looked on as the subject of compassion, and is carefully tended by the neighbours, as if he and not the wife had been the sufferer. Like all vagabonds they are regarded with suspicion, and with some reason, as they affect to possess a divining rod in the shape of the frond of the wild date, by which they may discover on the outside of the house where property is placed within . . . Although despised as a carrion-eating caste, the ryots do not hesitate in cases of sickness to consult them. Then the divining rod is produced, a Yarkalwar woman holding one end while the other is given to the person seeking advice, a long string of words is rattled over, the result of the disease foretold, and the particular shrine is indicated where an offering is to be placed, or the offended Sakti named, whose wrath is to be appeased by sacrifice . . . They speak a corrupt Tamil."

Compare also a "Brief Sketch of the Yerukala Language as spoken in Rajahmandry" in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1879, pp. 93–102. Messrs. A. G. Subrahmanyam Iyer, B.A., and P. Srinivasa Rao Pantulu, B.A., asked, under the direction of Rev. Mr. J. Cain, a Yeruka a series of questions and drew up the paper. Mr. Cain published afterwards a similar but shorter paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX (1880), pp. 210–212. The brief sketch contains, among others, the following statements: "The Yerukulas do not seem to have any distinctive tribal or national name. In conversation with each other they call themselves 'Kuluvaru, evidently from the Sanskrit 'kula,' merely signifying 'our people' while to strangers they speak of themselves as Yerukalavaru, a name most probably given them by their Telugu neighbours (Telugu ಜಕ್ಕ) in allusion to their supposed skill in palmistry, which they practise as a means of livelihood. The Yerukula in question was not able to say when his people settled in Rajahmandry. He only knew that a long time ago they came from the west... Their customs are generally of a very simple character. They burn their

custom among the Gauda-Dravidian tribes of India, though the term *erra*, red, is occasionally used in names, *e.g.*, in that of the *Erra Gollalu*.[93]

There is also no reason for connecting the two initial syllables *Yera* of *Yerakalavāṇḍlu* with the Yeravas of Kurg. These are a distinct tribe and do not belong to the Kuṟavas, of whom the Kuṟus or Yerukulavāṇḍlu are a branch. The name Yerava is in reality only another form of Parava.[94]

A similar remark must be made as to the propriety of deriving the name of the Kuṟus from the Telugu words

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dead with little ceremony... There appears to be little doubt that the language belongs to the Dravidian family. The following collection of words and phrases seems to show conclusively that of these languages it bears the closest affinity to Tamil although possessing words, allied to Telugu and Canarese."

[93] See my monograph *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*, p. 121, note 1: " Die mongolischen Völkerschaften pflegen nämlich, wie bekannt, dem eigenthümlichen Stammesnamen eine Farbe, wie schwarz, weiss, etc., voranzusetzen, und hierdurch die politische Lage der Horde, ob sie unabhängig oder abhängig sei, anzudeuten."

[94] See " Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes in the Province of Coorg," by the Rev. G. Richter, pp. 9, 10: " Of the hill-tribes the *Yeravas* stand lowest and seem to have been in remote ages in a servile relation to the *Betta Kurumbas* . . They are immigrants from Wynad, where the same class of *Yeravas* is said to be found. Their language is related to that of the *Betta Kurumbas* and understood by the Coorgs. . . The *Yeravas* bury their dead with their clothes on lying flat the head eastward; but according to the statement of an intelligent *Yerava* maistry, who was also the headman of his gang, the women are buried in a sitting posture in a hole scooped out sideways from what would have been an ordinary grave, so that the earth over head does not touch her."

Read also *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, in vol. I, p. 351: " *Yerava*. These are only found in Mysore District, in the taluks forming the southern frontier; they are said to have originally belonged to Wainad, where they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They resemble the African in features having thick lips and compressed noses. They speak a language of their own." In vol. II, p. 94: " Yerra Ganga and Challava Ganga, two men of the Yerralu tribe," to this the note is added: " A wandering tribe identical with or closely related to the Korachars. They are known in Coorg as Yeravas." And in vol. III, on pp. 214, 215: " Yeravas, also known as Panjara Yeravas, 5,608 males, and 4,908 females. . . From the description given of the Yeravas, it is probable they would have been more correctly classed with Holeyas among the outcastes. They are said to be originally from Wainad, where, like the Holeyas in Coorg, they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They are met with almost entirely in Kiggatnad and Yedenalkad

erike, *eruka* or *eruku*. The Telugu terms *erike* or *eruka* knowledge, in the sense of astrology or of palmistry, and *eṟuku*, hunter, do not offer an explanation of the tribal name *Kuṟu*. It is highly probable that the name and the occupation of the fortune-telling Kuṟuvāṇḍlu or Kulavāṇḍlu induced the Telugu people to call this tribe Yerukulavāṇḍlu, Yerakalavāṇḍlu or Yerikelavāṇḍlu, including in these terms both their tribal name and their profession, and that this nickname, once substituted for the real tribal surname, supplanted the latter in course of time. I prefer this explanation to the conjecture suggested by Mr. H. E. Stokes in his interesting account of these people. Taking *Eruku* as a Telugu designation of this race, he adds to it their tribal name by dropping the last vowel of the first part of the compound, so that the word becomes *Yerukkalavandlu*. Peculiarily enough the term *Erukukula* occurs in reality as quoted in the note below, but apparently in the meaning of hunter. No race takes, as a rule, its name from a foreign language, and Telugu is a strange dialect to the Kuṟus, whose real idiom is rather akin to Tamil. In this language the expression Yerukalavas is ignored, and this tribe is called simply by the term Koṟavar.[95]

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taluks. They speak a language of their own, a dialect of Malayalam, and live with the Coorgs, but always in separate huts in or near jungle. They are much sought after as labourers."

It is evident from the above that Mr. Rice's statements contradict each other. If *Yerra Ganga* and *Challava Ganga* were Kuṟuvāṇḍlu or Yerukulavāṇḍlu, they could, according to my opinion, not have been Yeravar.—Moreover Mr. Rice calls them "men of the Yerralu tribe," and the Yeravar are not, as I believe, known as Yerralu. Mr. Rice was induced tothis identification by Mr. Stokes' remarks, to which he refers. In this case it appears very doubtful whether *yerra* in *Yerra Ganga* is a tribal distinction at all, it seems rather to be a personal proper name.

[95] See the *Telugu and English Dictionary* by Charles Philip Brown, p. 126: "ఎఱ or ఎఱుక knowledge, acquaintance, fortune-telling. ఎఱలము or ఎఱలమ్మ a female gypsey, a witch. ఎఱలవాఁడు a fortune-teller: ఎఱలవాండ్లు gypsies. See ఎఱుకలు. ఎఱుక mountaineer, a savage. ఎఱుకచెప్పు to tell fortunes. ఎఱుక adj. Belonging to gypsies, or to hillpeople. ఎఱుక-

It is hardly necessary after this to contradict two other statements, namely that the term *Kulavāru* is derived from the Sanskrit word *kula* and that the original tribal name of this race was *Kala*. The falseness of the first is obvious, while the real tribal designation, as has been proved, is *Kulu*, *Kola*, or *Kuṛu*, *Kō* (*ku*), mountain, is, indeed, the root to which the name of the Kuṛuvas, Koṛavas, Koṛamas, Kuṛuvāṇḍlu or Kolavāṇḍlu must be traced. According to the last census 48,882 Yerukulavāṇḍlu live in the Madras Presidency, 9,892 in Hyderabad, and 30 in the Central Provinces, or altogether 58,804 in India.

These Kuṛus must not be confounded with the Kolarian *Kūrs*, who live on the Mahadeva hills and in the forests watered by the Tapti and Narbada. The Kūrs are better known as Muāsis.[96]

On the other hand, it is by no means improbable that the Kaurs of the Central Provinces stand in some relationship to the Kuṛavas, as they appear to belong to the Gonds.

లేము a highland chief. ఎరుకలవాడు a gypsey, ఎరుకలది a gypsey wench. This tribe of fortune-tellers speak a peculiar jargon or cant: and when they pitch their camps near towns, they herd swine. ఎరుకలసాని a woman of this tribe: a *witch*." Compare also *Śabda Ratnākaram*, a dictionary of the Telugu Language, compiled by B. Sītārāmācāryulu, Madras, 1885, pp. 150-151. "ఎరుక . వే. ని. 1. ఇతరు. . . 5 లోకజ్ఞము . . . ఎరుక. వే. ని. 1. కిరాతుడు 2. వ్యాధుడు. ర. .ఎరుకలలంబునందు జనియించియు ధర్మవులెల్లనిమ్మగా, నెరిగిరాదు."

[96] See the Rev. Stephen Hislop's *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, pp. 25–27: "We come now to a race in language at least quite distinct from any that have engaged our attention—a race in that respect not allied to the Dravidian stock, but to the family which numbers among its members the Kōl nation. With the name of this last-mentioned nation, the word *Kūr*, or *Kul*, as it ought properly to be pronounced, is evidently identical. .. The Kūrs were found on the Mahadeva Hills, and westward in the forests on the Tapti and Narbadda, until they came into contact with the Bhils. On the Mahadeva Hills, where they have been much influenced by the Hindus, they prefer the name of Muāsi, the origin of which I have not been able to ascertain." Compare also Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Caste*, vol. II, p. 126, and Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 151, 221, 230.

They resemble in their customs the aboriginal tribes of the jungles, revere Gond deities, and avoid all intercourse with Brahmans. With the Kurumbas they have in common the peculiar habit that all males are clean-shaved when a death takes place among their connection. Their features have a thorough Turanian aspect, their colour is darkish, their noses are broad, and their lips rather thick. They assert, and their neighbours all round support them in their claim, that they are the survivors of the Kauravas who, after the battle of Kurukṣētra, fled to the south and took refuge in the hill tracts of Central India.[97]

On the Kunnuvas and Kunavāris.

Dr. Shortt mentions, on p. 85 in the fifth part of his "Hill Ranges of Southern India," the "*Manadies, Coonoovars*

[97] Read Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 136–138: "In a paper entitled 'Notes of a Tour in the Tributary Mahals,' published in the *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, I introduced them as a dark, coarse-featured, broad-nosed, wide-mouthed, and thick-lipped race, and it was natural to conclude from this that they were one of the aboriginal tribes. . .They are decidedly ugly, but are taller and better set up than most of the people described in this chapter. The Kaurs form a considerable proportion of the population of Jashpur, Udaipur, Sirguja, Korea, Chand Bhakar, and Korba of Chattisgarh, and though they are much scattered, and the various divisions of the tribe hold little communication with each other, they all tenaciously cling to one tradition of their origin, that they are the descendants of the survivors of the sons of Kuru, called Kauravas in Purans, who, when defeated by the Pāndavas at the great battle of Kurukshetrya, and driven from Hastināpur, took refuge in the hill country of Central India. They not only relate this of themselves, but it is firmly believed by the people of all castes of Hindus, their neighbours, who, notwithstanding their dark complexions and general resemblance to the offspring of Nishāda and some anti-Hindu practices, do not scruple to regard them as brethren. . . I was informed that the Kaurs were divided into four tribes—(1) the *Dūdh Kaurs*, (2) *Paikera*, (3) *Rettiah Kaurs*. The Kaurs of Udaipur described by me in the paper above quoted belong to this class. They rear and eat fowls, and have no veneration for Brāhmans. The village barber is their priest, and officiates as such at marriages and other ceremonies. At births, marriages and deaths, the males affected by the casualty and all connected with them of the same sex are clean-shaven all round. Some villages maintain, besides, a Byga priest, or exorcist for the Dryads, Naiads, and witches. The Paikera Kaurs therefore, who are, I think, the most numerous, cannot be regarded as Hindu in faith . . (4) the *Cherwa Kaurs* . . . The Dūdh Kaurs alone preserve the true blood of the Kuru race . . . They have none of them in the tracts mentioned, attained

These remarks have been made with a view to introduce here the inhabitants of the Kunāwar district, which is situated in the Himalayan mountain range. The people of this country are generally known as Kunets or Kanets, but call themselves *Mon*. Sir Alexander Cunningham remarks: "With respect to the name of *Mon*, which is given to the "Kunets or Khasas by the Tibetans, it does not appear to be "a Tibetan word, as it is used by the Kunets themselves to "designate the ancient possessors of the hills, whom they "acknowledge to have been their own ancestors." On very slight, and, as I think, on very suspicious linguistic evidence does General Sir Alexander Cunningham connect the Mons of Kunāwar with the Kolarian Mundas, and thus with the Kolarian population of India. I, on the other hand, regard these Kunawāri Mons together with the Kulindas as a branch of the Gaudian tribe of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and even Sir Alexander Cunningham cannot deny the possibility of "a Gondish affinity for the Kunets." I have a very high respect for the earnest, indefatigable, and ingenious researches of the late chief of the Archæological Survey of India, but no single individual, however gifted, can write so much without occasionally committing errors, and if I disagree at times with General Sir Alexander Cunningham's statements and conclusions, I must acknowledge at the same time the great obligations I owe to him in common with all who consult his excellent writings.[101]

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occasionally the title *Manya Sultan* on Velama chiefs and other princes. *Manya* in this sense stands for Manyadora, and has nothing in common with the Sanskrit word *Manya* from *man*, to consider.

[101] See Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIV, pp. 125–135; more especially p. 127: "All the ancient remains within the present area of Kunet occupation are assigned to a people who are variously called Mowas, or Mons, or Motans, and all agree that they were the Kunets themselves . . At Dwara Hath there are numbers of monuments like tombs built of large flat tiles, which the people attribute to the *Maowis* or *Monas*. These I take to be the monuments of the ancient Kunindas or Kunets before they were driven from Dwara Hath to Joshimath . . (P. 128). In Dhami and Bhagal and in all the districts along the Satlej there are numerous

If the Kunets or Kunawaris are, as I believe, of Gaudian origin, the circumstance of their being called *Mon*, mountaineer, gains in importance; for this name can then be derived from a Gauda-Dravidian word. I feel inclined to derive the name of the inhabitants of Kunāwar, *i.e.*, of the ancient Kulindas and the modern Kunets, from the root *ku*, mountain. The etymology of the Madura term *Kunnuvar* from *Kunnu*, mountain, is evident, and is confirmed by the meanings of the other two names of this tribe, *i.e.*, *Koṟavar* and *Mannāḍikal*. Yet, it is doubtful, whether *Kunnava* is an original name or was afterwards adopted.

One of the peculiar features of the social habits of the Kunets is their strict adherence to the old Gauda-Dravidian custom of polyandry. Polyandry, it is true, does not actually prevail among the Southern Kunnavas, but a woman can take in succession as many husbands as she likes, though she is allowed only one at a time.

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remains of old stone buildings, many of them foundations of squared stones, all of which are attributed to the Maowis or Mons, the former rulers of the country . . I think it therefore very probable that the *Mons* of the Cis-Himalaya may be connected with the *Mundas* of Eastern India, who are certainly the *Monedes* of Pliny, as well as with the *Mons* of Pegu. As these last are called *Talaings* by the Burmese, it would seem that they must have emigrated from Telingana, I would also suggest that the true name of Mongir was most probably *Monagiri*, and that the country of the *Mundas* or *Monedes* once extended northward as far as the Ganges at Mongir." See Csoma de Korosi, Geographical Notice of Tibet in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. I, p. 122: "The hill people of India who dwell next to the Tibetans are called by them by the general name of *Mon*, their country *Mon Yul*, a man *Mon-pa* or simply *Mon*, and a woman *Mon-mo*) . . (Pp. 131-132.) The language of the Kunets, like that of the Khas, just described by Mr. Hodgson, is a corrupt dialect of Hindi, but it still retains several traces of a non-Aryan language. Thus the word *ti*, for water of stream, is found all over the Kunet area. The word is not Tibetan, but occurs in the Milchang dialect of Lower Kunawar. It is clearly connected with the *di* and *ti* of the E. Koch and Moch tribes, and with the *da* of the aboriginal Kolish dialects of Eastern and Central India, the Munda, Santhal, Ho, Kurī and Saur or Savara. Thus within the Kunet area are the following large streams. (1) Rawa-ti, or Ravi River. (2) Nyung-ti, or Bias River . . (P. 133). Several of the great rivers of Northern India have the Kolish affix *da*, as Pad-da, Narma-da, Bahu-da, etc. . . Da-Muda, Da-San, . . Altogether I think the evidence of language, so far as it goes, points decidedly to a Kolish rather than to a Gondish affinity for the

No doubt these two tribes of the North and the South resemble each other strangely in their names and in their customs, but I am far from trying to force on them for these reasons any closer relationship than that which has from the first existed between them, namely that both of them formed part of the large Gauda-Dravidian race. Both are here mentioned together, as they afford an interesting example of similar sounds and nearly identical names being borne by two distinct, and yet originally kindred tribes.[102]

CHAPTER XII.

On the Kurubas or Kurumbas.

Remarks about the name Kurumba.

The Kurubas or Kurumbas who form the subject of this enquiry represent the most important of all those tribes which have been already mentioned in this chapter, owing to the influential part they have played in the History of India, and the position they still occupy among the people of this country. However separated from each other and scattered

Kunets and other mixed races of North-West India." The linguistic evidence so far as the Kunets are concerned is very weak, in fact *nihil*. Nothing proves that the *ti* of *Rāvati*, the Sanskrit Airāvati denotes river; and that a word like *dā*, water, should in one and the same language be used in the same connection both at the beginning and the end of compounds as in *Bāhu-da*, *Narma-dā* *Dā-Muda*, and *Da-Sān*, is against linguistic rules. About the Kolarian terms for water, *dā*, *doi*, *di*, *dat*, *ti* and *tui* compare Hislop's Papers, p. 27.

[102] Read Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, pp. 34-35: "In this way a woman may legally marry any number of men in succession, though she may not have two husbands at one and the same time. She may however bestow favors on paramours without hindrance, provided they be of equal caste with her. On the other hand a man may indulge in polygamy to any extent he pleases, and the wealthier Kunnuvans keep several wives as servants particularly for agricultural purposes. Among the Western Kunnuvans a very curious custom is said to prevail. When an estate is likely to descend to a female on default of male issue, she is forbidden to marry an adult, but goes through the ceremony of marriage with some young male child, or in some cases with a portion of her father's dwelling-house, on the understanding that she shall be at liberty to amuse herself with any man of

among the Dravidian clans with whom they have dwelt, and however distant from one another they still live, there is hardly a province in the whole of Bharatavarṣa which cannot produce, if not some living remnants of this race, at least some remains of past times which prove their presence.

Indeed, the Kuṟumbas must be regarded as very old inhabitants of this land, who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of Indian soil. The two rival tribes have in reality become intermixed with each other, that according to the temporary superiority of the one or the other, the same district is at different times known as Vala(va)nāḍu and Kuṟumbanāḍu, while in some instances, when both tribes live more apart from each other, we find a Vallavanāḍu bordering on a Kuṟumbanāḍu.

In some parts of this country the Kuṟumbas are even now considered as the oldest existing remnant of the earliest stratum of the population. Some tracts and places in Indian realm still bear their name, while some localities their names changed after the collapse of the Kuṟumba supremacy. The well-known Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, of which Kāñcīpuram was once the capital, is said to have been previously called Kuṟumbabhūmi or Kuṟumbanāḍu. Kuṟumbaranāḍu forms still an integral portion of Malabar, and the forest-clad mountainous district of the Nilagiri has preserved in many localities the ancient name of the Kuṟumbas. It may not be inappropriate to mention here that Valanāḍu

her caste, to whom she may take a fancy: and her issue, so begotten, inherits the property, which is thus retained in the woman's family. Numerous disputes originate in this singular custom; and Madura Collectors have sometimes been puzzled not a little by evidence adduced to show that a child of three or four years was the son or daughter of a child of ten or twelve. The religion of the Kunnuvans appear to be the *Saiva*, but they worship their mountain god Valapan with far more devotedness than any other."

Compare also Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. V, pp. 482-483: "In physique, the Kunawāns are tall, athletic, well-made, and dark-skinned; while their character stands high for hospitality, truthfulness and honesty . . Polyandry everywhere exists in its fullest form."

is now known as the name of a district round Kāñcīpuram, and that Vaḷḷuvanāḍu is bordering on Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu.[103]

Before entering further on the discussion concerning the ethnology and history of the Kuṟumbas, I feel it incumbent on me to make a few linguistic remarks, which apply to the whole chapter. I have already derived their name from *kuṟu*, an enlarged form of *ko* (*ku*), mountain. A Kuṟuba or Kuṟumba signifies thus a mountaineer.

The terms Kuṟuba and Kuṟumba are originally identical, though the one form is in different places employed for the other, and has thus occasionally assumed a special local meaning. I have previously proved that even the wandering Koṟavas are direct offshoots from the same stem, in spite of their being now distinguished from the bulk of the Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas by occupation and caste. Mr. H. B. Grigg appears to contradict himself when, while speaking of the Kuṟumbas, he says that "in the low country they are "called Kurubas or Cúrubáru, and are divided into numerous "families, such as the 'Áné' or Elephant, Náya or Dog, "Málé or Hill Kurumbas." Such a distinction between Mountain-Kuṟumbas and Plain-Kuṟubas cannot be established. The Rev. G. Richter will find it difficult to prove that the *Kuṟubas* of Mysore are only called so as shepherds, and that no connection exists between these Kuṟubas and the Kuṟumbas. Mr. Lewis Rice calls the wild tribes as well as the shepherds *Kurubas*, but seems to overlook the fact that both terms are identical and refer only to the ethnological distinction. Instead of *Kuruba* he uses also occasionally *Kurumba*. In the Tamil language all the Kuṟumbas are

[103] Or Veḷanāḍu. Near Chingleput in Vaḷanāḍu lies Vaḷḷam with an ancient temple on the top of the hill and Vaḷam in Tanjore is also situated on a height. I am not ignorant of the fact that the term *Vaḷanāḍu* is generally explained as the *extensive* or *excellent district*. (See F. M. Ellis' *Mirāsi* Article, p. 229, and Mr. Nelson's *Manual*, Part II, p. 49.) In Mr. Nelson's *Manual of Madura* the Vallama Nāḍu in Tanjore is mentioned in Part II, on pp. 28 and 57 and "the Vella (Vala) Nadu, near Kāñchipuram (Conjeveram)," on p. 44, the *Vala Nāḍu* or excellent district of Madura on p. 49.

called *Kuṟumbar*, and, as we shall see hereafter, they are divided into *Aṇḍa* or *Aṇḍai-Kuṟumbar*, *Kambali-Kuṟumbar*, *Kuṟumba-Iḍaiyar*, *Cunnāmbu-Kuṟumbar*, *&c.* The ethnological origin of Kuṟuba, shepherd, is proved by the occurrence of such terms as *Kuṟi-Kuṟuba*, Sheep-Kuṟuba, *Handi-Kuṟuba*, Pig-Kuṟuba. The Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas embraced the occupation of herdsmen to such an extent, that the tribal designation became in course of time a professional one. In English the term *shepherd* is on the other hand used in such a general sense, that the original meaning of shepherd, as a herd of sheep, the German *Schafhirt*, is quite forgotten. The expression *Kuṟi-Kuṟuba* would mean *sheep-shepherd*, if the original signification of Kuṟuba were really shepherd.

Now it happens that one of the principal occupations of the Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas is that of tending sheep, and by a peculiar coincidence *kuṟi* or *koṟi* is a common Gauda-Dravidian term for sheep, from which can also be derived the word *Kuṟuban*, in the sense of shepherd. In fact the term *kuṟuba* in Kanarese, *kuṟuban* in Malayālam and Tulu, and *golladu* or *gollavāḍu* in Telugu denote a shepherd, but the Tamil *kuṟumban* in the sense of shepherd refers only to the Kuṟumba shepherd, and the sheep peculiar to the Kuṟumbas is called *Kuṟumbāḍu*, in Tamil குறும்பாடு. So far as the Telugu *golladu* is concerned, I must at once remark that I think it incorrect to connect this word with the Sanskrit term *gō*, cow. Golladu or Gollavāḍu is derived from *golla* the Casus Constructus (*taṭamu*) in the plural of *goṟṟe*, sheep, plural *goṟṟelu* or *gorlu* changed into *gollu*. I have been since informed by reliable authority that in the Telugu-speaking districts the term *gollavāḍu* is particularly applied to herdsmen of sheep or shepherds. The Kuṟumba herdsmen are styled in Tamil *Kuṟumba Iḍaiyar*, and in Telugu *Kuṟumba Gollalu*.[104]

[101] Compare Mr. Grigg's *Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, p. 208, Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 11 (see note 108 on p. 230), and Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III, pp. 20, 49, 57, 207, 208, 214, 216.

But we have also to deal with another word which resembles *kuṛu* mountain; this is the term *kuṛu* short, which occurs in Tamil, Malayālaṃ, Tulu, Kanarese and Telugu. Peculiarly enough a large percentage of the Kuṛumbas, more especially those who inhabit the hill-ranges have a short almost dwarfish figure, so that the etymology may appear appropriate in their case. A similar derivation from the Malayālam *ceṛu*, small, in Tamil and Telugu *ciṛu*, is actually suggested to explain the name of the praedial slaves of Malabar, the ill treated *Ceṛamas* or *Ceṛumas*. This tribe is in reality called after their native country *Cēra*, of which they were, so far as we know, the original rulers, until they were suppressed and finally reduced to abject slavery by their present masters, the Nairs. The Kuṛumbas have shared a similar fate in many places. The *Ceṛamas* can therefore be compared with their fellow sufferers, the *Kuḍamas*.

The stunted growth of animals and plants in cold, wet and high elevations is a well-known natural law, to which the human species has also to submit. In consequence of their loneliness and comparative physical weakness, the small

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In the late Mr. C. P. Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* we find *gollata*, గొల్లఁడి, given as signifying a woman of the cowkeeper caste, and *gollatamu*, గొల్లతము, as the cowherd class. This is, I think, not quite correct. Later Telugu Lexicographers have adopted and perpetuated the mistake of Mr. Brown. The same meaning is contained in Kanarese dictionaries, as Kanarese also possesses the word *golla*, as a caste of herdsmen. The Kanarese term is most likely taken from Telugu. Mr. W. Logan speaks in his *Malabar Manual*, vol. I, p. 114, of the Koruba Golla as herdsmen. Compare Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. II, pp. 433, 434: "Sheep are an object of great importance, and are of the kind called *Curi* in the language of Karnata. They are kept by two castes, the *Curubaru* and *Goalaru*. A man of either caste, who possesses a flock of sheep, is by the Mussulmans called a Donigar. The *Curubaru* are of two kinds; those properly so called, and those named *Handy* or *Cumly Curubaru*. The *Curubaru* proper, and the *Goalaru*, are sometimes cultivators, and possess the largest flocks; but they never make blankets... The flocks contained by the former two castes contain from 30 to 300 breeding-lives."

The Gollas of *Aurangabad* appear to be identical with the wandering Kuṛuvas; for according to the Gazetteer of that district (p. 309): "The Gollars move about with droves of asses, or are employed as goatherds. They

mountaineers, when they meet their taller but less clever neighbours of the plains, display often a spiteful distrust, use poisonous arrows and frighten them by their mysterious proceedings into abject superstition. This is the reason why the Kuṟumbas of the Nīlagiri Hills are so shunned; and why dwarfs in general are treated with suspicion, as is shown by the well-known native proverb: "One may trust a thief, but not a dwarf."

When pointing out the different meanings of the word *palli*, I specially drew attention to the fact that it signified originally a Dravidian village or town, and remarkably enough the Gaudian Kuṟumbas also possess similar terms, which must have been at first applied to their villages. I speak of *kuṟicci*, a village in mountainous regions, and *kuṟumbu*, a village situated in desert tracts.

Moreover to the Dravidian Pallavan, as chief of the Palla people, corresponds the Gaudian *Kuṟuppu*, the Kuṟumba headman in the Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu of Malabar.

On the sub-divisions among the Kuṟumbas.

The Kuṟumbas represent a very numerous community, who are subdivided into many classes. Most of these sub-divisions indicate either the place of their habitation, or the pursuit and profession they follow to gain their livelihood. In some cases these professional terms have become tribal names. In the various provinces of the Indian Empire and in the different vernaculars of this country distinct names are given to the several subdivisions, so that the same class is called differently in sundry districts; the Tamil and Kanarese descriptions differ thus in their nomenclature.

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rear dogs, hunt jackals, iguanas, and wild animals, and live in the neighbourhood of towns and villages. The women beg, and are said to be great thieves."

In the last Census Report the Gollas are divided into Erra, Gauda, Kadu, Kannadi, Karna, Kuruba, Mushti, Puja, Pūri, Peddeti and Ura Gollas, Kurumbas and Yadavulu. They are classed as Dravidians, and number 1,258,786 souls.

The Kuṟumbas are as jealous about their social position as the other Hindus.[105] They have fought and are still fighting when the opportunity occurs with great pertinacity against any real or imaginary encroachments on their rights of precedence. Very serious disturbances used to take place at the great annual festival held about February in the Śiva shrine at *Muḍukuturai* in the Kollegal Tāluk, where about 50,000 people assemble on the banks of the Kāvēri, and

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[105] About the ensigns compare pp. 63, 64, n. 59.

See Mackenzie Collection, No. 9, C.M. 763, XII; No. 11, C.M. 765; No. 14, C.M. 768, VIII; No. 20, C.M. 774, X, and Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, vol. I, pp. 274–276, 312, 379–381, 389; vol. II, pp. 3, 40, 155, 156, 433–436. In vol. I, pp. 274–276 he says: "The *Curubaru* are an original caste of *Karnāta*, and, wherever they are settled, retain their language. They are divided into two tribes, that have no communion, and which are called *Handy Curubaru*, and *Curubaru* proper. The last again are divided into a number of families; such as the *Any*, or elephant Curubaru; the *Hal*, or Milk Curubaru; the *Colli*, or fire C.; the *Nelly C.*; the *Sāmanta C.*; the *Coti C.*; the *Asil C.*; and the *Murhiyāina Curubaru*. These families are like the *Gōtrams* of the Brāhmans; it being considered as incestuous for two persons of the same family to intermarry. The proper *Curubas* have hereditary chiefs, who are called *Gaudas*, whether they be headmen of villages or not, and possess the usual jurisdiction. Some of them can read accompts, but they have no book. The proper duty of the caste is that of shepherds, and of blanket-weavers; and in general they have no other dress than a blanket. A few of those who are rich have betaken themselves to the luxury of wearing cotton cloth next their skin; for all castes and ranks in this country wear the blanket as an outer garment. The dress of the women resembles that of the females of the kingdom of *Ava*. The blanket is put behind the back, and the two upper corners, being brought forward under the arms, are crossed over the bosom, and secured by the one being tucked under the other. As their blanket is larger than the cloth used by the women of *Ava*, the dress is more decent. The *Curubaru* were, besides, *Canduchara*, or militia; cultivators, as farmers, as servants, and as gardeners; *Attavana*, or the armed men who serve the *Amildars*; *Anchay*, or post-messengers, and porters. They are allowed to eat animal food, but in most places are not permitted to drink spirituous liquors. In other places this strictness is not required, and almost everywhere they intoxicate themselves with palm-wine. The women are very industrious, and perform every kind of work except digging and ploughing. Even after the age of puberty they continue marriageable, and can only be divorced for adultery. In this caste the custom of *Cutiga*, or concubinage, prevails; that is, all adulteresses who are turned away by their husbands, and have not gone astray with a stranger man, and all girls and widows, to whom a life of celibacy is disagreeable, may live with any man of the caste who chooses to keep them. They are looked down upon by their more virtuous sisters; but

Government had to interfere and to arrange that the Kuṟumbas and the Gaṅgaḍikāras should attend the fair on different days, so as to prevent their meeting each other. On another occasion the Kuṟumbas collected and spent about 10,000 rupees to obtain from the records in Kāñcīpuram documentary evidence in confirmation of their claims. One of the disputes between the Kuṟumbas and the Gaṅgaḍikāras concerns the question who are the Indraśūdras and who the

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still they are admitted into company, and are not out-casts. Among the *Curubaru*, the children of concubines do not form a separate caste, but are allowed to marry with those of a pure breed. By a connection with any man, except a *Curuba*, a woman becomes an entire out-cast. The men take several wives; and, if they be good workers, do not always divorce them for adultery; but as they thus incur some disgrace, they must appease the anger of their kindred by giving them an entertainment, and the *Guru* generally interposes his authority to prevent a separation. The *Curubas* believe, that those men who die without having been married become *Vīrikas*, to whose images, at a great annual feast, which is celebrated on purpose, offerings of red cloth, *jagory* rice, &c., are made. If this feast be omitted, the *Vīrikas* become enraged, occasion sickness, kill the sheep, alarm the people by horrid dreams, and, when they walk out at night, strike them on the back. They are only to be appeased by the celebration of the proper feast. The peculiar god of the caste is *Bir'-uppa*, or father *Biray*, one of the names of *Siva*; and the image is in shape of the *Linga*; but no other person prays to *Siva* under his name, nor offers sacrifices to that god, which is the mode by which the *Curubas* worship *Bir'-uppa*. The priests who officiate in the temples of this deity are *Curubas*. Their office is hereditary, and they do not intermarry with the daughters of laymen. In some districts, the *Curubas* worship another god, peculiar, I believe, to themselves. He is called *Battay Devaru*, and is a destructive spirit. They offer sacrifices to him in woods, by the sides of rivulets, or ponds. The carcasses of the animals killed before the image are given to the barber and washerman, who eat them. Besides these, the *Curubaru* offer sacrifices to the *Saktis*, and pray to every object of superstition (except *Dharma Rāja*) that comes in their way. They are considered too impure to be allowed to wear the *Linga*, as their *Guru* does. This person is called a *Wodear*, or *Jangama*; but he is married, and his office is hereditary. His title is *Rāvana Sidhēswara*, and he originally lived at *Sarur*, which is near *Kalyānapaṭṭana*. At his visits he bestows consecrated ashes, and receives charity. He has a fixed due on marriages, and sends his agents to collect it. At some of their ceremonies the *Panchānga* attends, and acts as Purohita." On page 312 Buchanan says: "The *Curubas* here (in Tumkūr) say, that at a temple of *Bhairawa* at *Hervay Samudra*, which is near *Mercasera*, to the north of this place, and where one of their caste acts as *Pūjāri*, the image represents a man sitting on horseback with the *Linga* round his neck, and a drawn sword in his hand, they offer sacrifices to this image and eat the flesh. The family of *Rāvana* have now spread all over the country; but *Sarur* is still considered as the proper family

Śukraśūdras; the Kuṛumbas claiming to be *Indraśūdras* and calling the Gaṅgaḍikāras *Śukraśūdras*, and *vice versâ*. The former expression indicates the issue of married, and the latter that of unmarried women.

They carry an enormous white umbrella and a flag with the figure of a bull, and of this umbrella they proudly say that it covers the world. It is therefore known as *Jagajampina sattige*.

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seat. Their *Guru* has the power of restoring any out-cast to the enjoyment of full communion. They have a book peculiar to the caste called *Jiṛaga Chapagodu*. It is written in the language of *Karnāta*, and gives an account of the tribe. The Curubaru buy their wives, a girl of a good family costs from 30 to 40 *fanams*; a girl of the bastard or *Cutiga* breed costs 15 *fanams*, or 10*s*." On pp. 379–81 he describes the Kāḍu and Beṭṭa Kuṛumbas: "The *Cad' Curubaru* are a rude tribe of *Karnāta*, who are exceedingly poor and wretched. In the fields near villages they build miserable low huts, have a few rags only for covering, and the hair of both sexes stands out matted like a mop, and swarms with vermin. Their persons and features are weak and unseemly, and their complexion is very dark. Some of them hire themselves as labouring servants to the farmers, and, like those of other castes, receive monthly wages. Others, in crop season, watch the fields at night, to keep off the elephants and wild hogs. . Their manner of driving away the elephant is by running against him with a burning torch made of bamboos. . . The *Curubaru* have no means of killing so large an animal . . The wild hogs are driven out of the fields by slings . . These poor people frequently suffer from tigers, against which their wretched huts are a poor defence; and, when this wild beast is urged by hunger, he is regardless of their burning torches. The *Curubaru* have dogs, with which they catch deer, antelopes and hares; and they have the art of taking in snares peacocks, and other esculent birds. They have no hereditary chiefs, but assemble occasionally to settle the business of their caste. They confine their marriages to their own tribe. The *Gauda*, or chief man of the village, presides at this ceremony, which consists of a feast. During this the bridegroom espouses his mistress, by tying a string of beads around her neck. The men are allowed to take several wives, and both girls after the age of puberty, and widows are permitted to marry. In case of adultery, the husband flogs his wife severely, and if he be able, beats her paramour. If he be not able, he applies to the *Gauda*, who does it for him. The adulteress has then her choice of following either of the men as her husband. They can eat everything except beef; and have no objection to the animal having died a natural death. . . They do not drink spiritous liquors. None of them take the vow of *Dāsēri* nor attempt to read. Some of them burn, and others bury the dead. They believe that good men, after death, will become benevolent *Dēvas*, and bad men destructive *Dēvas*. . . The spirits of the dead are believed to appear in dreams to their old people, and to direct them to make offerings of fruits to a female deity, named *Bettada Chicama*; that is, the little mother of the hill. Unless these offerings are made, this goddess occasions sickness;

I have been informed that there exist as many as 23 Kuṟumba subdivisions.

The Mackenzie Manuscripts contain in this respect valuable information about the Tamil Kuṟumbas, while Dr. Francis Buchanan supplies interesting accounts of the Kanarese Kuṟumbas. Among such distinctions may be mentioned the *Malai* or *Beṭṭa Kuṟumbas*, who are confined to the mountains, and the *Kāḍu Kuṟumbas*, who dwell in forests. It is probable that the *Muḷḷu Kuṟumbas*, who are

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but she is never supposed to do her votaries any good. She is not, however, appeased by bloody sacrifices. There is a temple dedicated to her near *Nunjinagodu*; but there is no occasion for the offering being made at that place. There is also in this neighbourhood (of *Hegodu Devana Cotay*) another rude tribe of *Curubaru*, called *Betta*, or *Malaya*, both words signifying mountain, the one in the *Karnāta*, and the other in the *Tamil* language.... They are not so wretched nor ill-looking as the *Cad' Curubaru*, but are of diminutive stature. They live in poor huts near the villages, and the chief employment of the men is the cutting of timber, and making of baskets .... The *Betta Curubaru* have an hereditary chief called *Ijyamāva*, who lives at *Priya-pattana*. . . In this tribe, the concubines, or *Cutigas*, are women that prefer another man to their husband, or widows who do not wish to relinquish carnal enjoyment. Their children are not considered as illegitimate.

"Girls are not considered as marriageable until after the age of puberty, custom that by the higher orders is considered as a beastly depravity. The men may take several wives, but never marry a woman of the same family with themselves in the male line. The *Betta Curubaru* never intoxicate themselves; but are permitted to eat every kind of animal food except beef, and they have no objection to carrion. They never take the vow of *Dasēri*, and none of them can read. Some of them burn, and others bury their dead. They understand nothing of a future state. The god of the caste is *Ejuruppa*, who seems to be the same with *Hanumanta*, the servant of *Rama*, but they never pray to this last-mentioned deity although they sometimes address *Siva*. To the god of their caste they offer fruit, and a little money; they never sacrifice to the *Saktis*. Their *Guru*, they say, is of the caste *Wotimeru*, and from their description would appear to be of those people called *Satananas*." On p. 389: "*Bhairawa Dēvaru* is the god of the *Curubas*, and is a malevolent male spirit .... The *Pujari*, or priest, is a *Hal Curubaru*, who can neither read nor write." Compare further vol. II, pp. 3, 42, 433–436: "The Curubaru are of two kinds; those properly so called, and those named *Handy* or *Cumly Curubaru*. The *Curubaru* proper, and the *Goalaru*, are sometimes cultivators, and possess the largest flocks; but they never make blankets. The *Handy Curubas* abstain entirely from cultivation, and employ themselves in tending their flocks, and manufacturing the wool... The *Handy Curubaru*, . . . are a caste living in the *Harapunya-hully* and *Chatrakal*

found in the Nīlagiri Mountains, are so called from *mullu*, thorn, as they live among the jungle; if so, the term is to some extent synonymous with *Kāḍu Kuṟumbas*. Some think that the word *mullu* may apply to their arrows, as these sturdy, well-made mountaineers are never seen without their bows and arrows. As regards their neighbours whom the Rev. F. Metz, otherwise a great authority on this subject, calls *Naya Kurumbas*, and Mr. Grigg *Náya or Dog Kurumbas*, I have ascertained on reliable authority that their name is in reality not *Nāya* but *Nāyaka Kuṟumbas*, and that they are held in respect by the neighbouring tribes. The *Mullu*

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districts, and are of Karnāta descent. . . All those who have settled in that (*Marattah*) country being horsemen, they are called *Handay Ravalar*, a name pronounced Rawut by the Mussulmans, and by them frequently applied to every kind of *Curubas* . . . The deities, whom this caste consider as their peculiar objects of worship, are *Bira Deva*, and his sister *Mayava*. *Bira* is, they say, the same with *Iswara*, and resides in Kailasa . . There is only one temple of *Bira*, which is situated on *Curi Betta*, or the sheep hill, on the banks of the Krishna, near the Poonah. There is also only one temple dedicated to *Mayava*. It is near the Krishna, at a place named *Chinsuli*. Once in ten years, every man of the caste ought to go to these two temples; but a great many do not find leisure for the performance of this duty. These deities do not receive bloody sacrifices, but are worshipped by offerings of fruit and flowers. The priests (*Pujaris*) at both these temples are *Curubaru*, and, as the office is hereditary, they of course marry. . Besides the worship of the deities proper to the caste, the Curubas offer sacrifices to some of the destructive spirits, such as *Durgawa*, *Jacani*, and *Barama Deva*. . . The *Curubaru* have no trouble from *Pysachi*; and ordinary *Butas*, or devils, they believe, are expelled by prayer addressed to the deities of the caste. At *Hujiny*, in the *Harapunya-hully* district, resides *Ravara Siddheswara*, the *Guru* of this caste." In his description of Malabar, Buchanan speaks in vol. II., pp. 156–158 of the Curumbalum or Catalun in Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu: "Another caste of *Malayalu*, condemned to slavery, is called in the singular *Catal* or *Curumbal*, and in the plural *Catalam* or *Curumbalun*. They reckon themselves higher than the Churman, Polian, or Parian. The deity is worshipped by this caste under the name of *Malayadēvan*, or the god of the hill, and is represented by a stone *Kuruta Malay*, a heap of pebbles. This place of worship is on a hill, named *alun* annually near *Sivapurata*, in *Curumbara Nada*. To this place t[illegible] such like, but go, and offer their prayers, coco-nuts, spirituous liquors, [illegible] pray chiefly make no sacrifices, nor have they any kind of priest. Th[illegible] Th[illegible] pirits for their own worldly happiness, and for that of their relations. [illegible] sease, of good men after death are supposed to have the power of inflict[illegible] h the and are appeased by offerings of distilled and fermented liquors, w[illegible] em votary drinks after he has called upon the spirit to take s[illegible] ch part of t[illegible]

Kuṟumbas live particularly on the eastern side of the hills in their middle belts, while the *Nāya* or *Nāyaka Kuṟumbas* inhabit generally the lower slopes of this range as well as of the Wynaad. It appears that the latter are identical with those who are elsewhere called *Jēnu Kuṟumbas*, or Honey Kuṟumbas, because they gather honey for their own use as well as for sale. These Jēnu Kuṟumbas are also found in Kurg.

About the Kuṟumbas of the Nīlagiri-Mountain-range, we are favoured with various pretty accurate accounts. Among these deserve special mention the writings of the late Rev. Ferdinand Metz [106] of the Basel Lutheran Mission, who

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as will pacify his resentment. The dead bodies of good men are burned, but those of bad men, in order to confine their spirits, are buried; for, if they escape, they are supposed to occasion great trouble. It is not customary, however, to make any offerings to these evil spirits. This caste has no hereditary chiefs; but disputes are settled by the elders who never inflict a severer punishment than a mulct of some *Betel-leaf*. . . The tradition here is, that *Cheruman Perṃal* divided the whole of *Malayala* among four families, who were called *Rājās*, but whose dominions were afterwards subdivided amongst innumerable petty chiefs, and younger branches of the original families. These four families, however, always maintained a superiority of rank, which they at this day retain. They are, the *Coluta-nāda Rājā*, commonly called *Cherical*; the *Venatra*, or *Rājā of Travancore;* the *Perumburupa*, or *Cochi Rājā*, and the *Ernada*, or *Tamuri*. The dominions of the latter were originally very small. The same story concerning them is told here (*Pyūr* or *Eivurmalay*) that was related at Calicut. In process of time the *Curumbara* family, who seem to have been a branch descended from the *Cochi Rājās*, seized on a part of *Coluta-nada*, which included all the northern parts of *Malayala*. Among other usurpations, this family seized on *Eivurmalay*, of which they were afterwards stript by the ancestors of the three *Wannamar*. Another Kshatriya family called *Cotayhutty* (*Cotiote*), who seem to have been descended from a younger sister of the *Curumbara Rājās*, seized on another portion of *Coluta-nada* lying between *Tellicherry* and the *Ghats*. 1779), five *Yera Nada Rajās* became extinct in the *Malabar* year 954 (1778-
About thers after *Hyder* invaded the country."

scription of the Kurumbas of Southern India consult also Abbé Dubois' *De-Madura* by Mr. Jo[illegible]*e of India*, second edition, p. 342, and the *Manual of*

[106] Compare [illegible] I. Nelson, Part II, pp. 64, 65.
pp. 115–1[illegible] Rev. F. Metz *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, Mullu Ku[illegible]: "The Todas divide the Kurumbas into three classes—The in th[illegible]umbas, the Naya Kurumbas, and the Panias. The two latter live twe[illegible]ynaad. The Panias are not looked upon as sorcerers, as are the other classes, and are chiefly employed as the laborers of the Badagas who

spent the best part of his life in intimate intercourse with the hill-tribes, among whom he commanded the highest respect for the genuine kindness he showed to them and the utter unselfishness he displayed towards the amelioration of their position. Very valuable information is also contained in the writings of the late Colonel Ouchterlony, in the *Account* of the late Mr. J. Wilkinson Breeks, Commissioner of

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have settled in the Wynaad. Each Badaga district has its own Kurumba priest, who comes up at the ploughing season, and sows the first handful of grain; and at harvest time also before the sickle is put to the crop. And if a standing crop should at any time be attacked by insects, he is sent for, and has to go through the ceremony of lowing like a calf, which the Badagas believe has the effect of killing the insect. . The Mullu and Naya Kurumbas are believed to possess the power of killing men by sorcery, and so greatly are they feared that, if a Badaga meet a Kurumba in a jungle alone, death from sheer terror is not unfrequently the consequence. . . The cairns and cromlechs found in various parts of the hills, . . were, I think, probably the work of the ancestors of the Kurumbas. . . During the 13 years that I have labored amongst and mixed with the hill-tribes, I have never found the Todas in any way interested in the cairns, whilst the fact of their making no objections to their being opened, taken in connection with the circumstance of the contents frequently consisting of parts of plough-shares, sickles, and other implements of husbandry, showing that the cairns were constructed by an agricultural race which the Todas never were, are to me convincing proofs that they are not the work of the Todas of a past generation. The Badagas and Kotas, on the other hand, are to a certain degree afraid to approach them . . I was once on a preaching excursion in a district near the southern boundary of the hills, and not very far from the principal Kurumba village, called Mulli, and after the labors of the day felt a curiosity to open a cairn which happened to be in the neighbourhood. Much to my surprise however the Badaga headmen present would not permit me to do so, not on account of any objections they had themselves to make, but because, as they said, it was the residence of the god of the Kurumbas, who came up frequently from Mulli in order to worship the god of their forefathers. This is the only occasion on which I have ever known any of the hill tribes venerate a cairn, as the depository of the ashes of a deceased ancestor; but, viewed in connection with what I have already stated, I think it is sufficient to justify the supposition that the Kurumbas of old, when masters of the tableland may have constructed these remarkable cemeteries; and this consideration is further borne out by the fact that the common tradition among Todas, Badagas, and Kotas, is that they are the graves of a very wicked race of people, who, though diminutive in stature, were at the same time powerful enough to raise the large blocks of granite of which the walls of Hoolicaldroog are built; and that God drove them from the hills on account of their wickedness—a description which would well apply to the case of the Kurumbas, who, in addition to being feared and detested, are as a race much stunted in their

the Nilagiris, in the reports of Deputy-Surgeon-General Dr. John Shortt, and in the exhaustive and valuable *Manual of the Nilagiri District* compiled by Mr. H. B. Grigg, late Assistant Commissioner of the Nilagiris.[107]

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growth. The cromlechs were doubtless the work of the same people as the cairns. . The Kurumbas call their deity Kuribattaraya, meaning, Lord or possessor of sheep and to him they now and then sacrifice a goat or a fowl."

[107] Compare Dr. Shortt's Article on the Kurumbas in the *Hill Ranges of Southern India*, Part I, pp. 47-53 : "*Kurumbas*—From குறும்பு (Kurumboo) mischief, the characteristic of a class of savages who are supposed to be the aborigines of Southern India, from which the term Kurumba is derived. A tribe, who call themselves, and are recognized as Kurumbas, having three sub-divisions among them, viz. :—1. Mullu Kurumba. 2. Naya Kurumba. 3. Panias Kuramba. . . The *Mullu Kurumbas* chiefly occupy the middle belts of these hills, while the other two divisions are confined to the lower slopes, or are inhabitants of the Wynaad jungles, but the tribe generally is recognized as mountaineers. . The Kurumba tribe are small in stature, and have a squalid and somewhat uncouth appearance from their peculiar physiognomy, wild matted hair, and almost nude bodies. . They are as a body sickly-looking, pot-bellied, large-mouthed, prognathous, with prominent out-standing teeth and thick lips—frequently saliva dribbles away from their mouths. . . The men show great agility in climbing and descending hills, trees, &c. The women have much the same features as the men, only somewhat softened in expression, and slightly modified in feature, with a small pug nose, and surly aspect. . Their villages are termed *Motta*. . They have no furniture. . They have no marriage ceremony. . Those Kurumbas who live on the Hills officiate as priests to the Badagas. . The Badaga will do nothing without the presence of a Kurumba, so that each district has its own Kurumba priest. . He is supposed to be well versed in the use of herbs, and prescribes for all ailments; implicit confidence is placed in his skill, and he is remunerated either in money or grain, and sometimes both. The Kurumbas also officiate as priests at their marriages and deaths. . . The Kurumbas, as a body, keep the other tribes in great dread of witchcraft, not even excepting the Todas, who look upon the Kurumbas as great adepts in the power and skill of bewitching or destroying men, animals, or other property. . . The Kurumbas are also employed as musicians by the Toda and Badaga tribes on all ceremonial and festive occasions; they play on the flute and tom-tom very dexterously to the admiration of the Todas and Badagas. . They withstand the endemic diseases of the locality pretty well, and are not subject to fever. . They hold some crude notions of a superior being, whom they designate under a variety of names, with no distinct idea as to who or what he is. . The Kurumbas are superstitious, and while they keep all the other tribes on these Hills in awe, they themselves fear the Todas, believing that they possess supernatural powers over them. . They are said to hold in respect, and make offerings at, the different cairns and cromlechs met with on these Hills, and from which it is believed that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of their ancestors. Against this, their weak and dwarfed stature is brought

So far as the Kuṛumbas of Kurg are concerned, we are mainly indebted to the Rev. G. Richter who wrote an *Ethno-*

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forward as an objection, as most of these cairns and cromlechs are built of huge stones, such as it is believed the Kurumba tribe could not move in the absence of suitable appliances... Some of the Todas do attribute the cairns and cromlechs to the Kurumbas."

Consult further the late Mr. James Wilkinson Breeks' *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 48-66: "In the Tabulated Census Returns they are entered under the following castes or divisions:—Eda Kurumban, Karnadiya Kurumban, Kurumban, Kurumban Okkiliyan, Male Kurumban, Pal Kurumban. . They generally, however, say they have no caste, but are divided into *bīgas* or families, which do not intermarry. It is difficult to get a complete account of the tribal divisions recognised by them. One man will name you one (his own); another two divisions; another three, and so on. The headman of the village enumerated four:— 1. *Betta Kurumbas* who live on the slopes, and near the Mysore ditch. 2. *Kambale Kurumbas*, who make blankets (cambly), and live in the low country, in the Konguru (Coimbatore). 3. *Mullu Kurumbas* (he did not know where they lived). 4. *Anda Kurumbas*, who, like himself, live on the eastern slopes. Pal Kurumbas are also vaguely mentioned sometimes. . Some Kurumbas whom I have met with, profess, in answer to inquiries, to worship Siva, and occasionally women mark their forehead with the Saiva spot. Others, living near Barliar, worship Kuribattrāya (lord of many sheep), and the wife of Siva under the name of Musni. They worship also a rough round stone under the name of Hiriadēva, setting it up either in a cave or in a circle of stones like the so-called 'Kurumba Kovil' of the Badagas, which the latter seem to have borrowed from the Kurumbas. . They do not consider the stone as a *lingam*, although they profess to be Saivites. . Each Badaga *Grāma*, with its group of villages, keeps a Kurumba priest called *Kāni Kurumba*. . The office is hereditary. In April and May, before sowing time, a goat or young male buffalo is supplied by the cultivators, and the Kāni Kurumba is summoned to make the sacrifice. Surrounded by the villagers, the officiating priest cuts off the head of the animal, and sprinkles the blood in three directions, east, west, and south, and also on a water-worn stone, which is considered as a "*hutu* (natural) *lingam*." No words are spoken, but after the sprinkling, the Kurumba clasps his hands behind his head, shouting *Do, Do, Do*, three times and bows the head to 'Mother Earth.' The priest gets the head, and the Badagas the body, of the goat, which is taken home and eaten. In the Jakāneri Grāma this ceremony is performed at the cromlech; in Tenād, at a rude circle of stone surrounding a water-worn stone for a *lingam*. They call the place the 'Kurumba Kovil' (Kurumba Church)... The Kurumbas near Rangaswāmi's Peak told me that some Kurumbas buried their dead, but that they themselves burned theirs, and that the nearest relatives next day took some boiled rice in a cloth and a small round stone, and perhaps a bone from the funeral pile, and deposited them for the dead in the *Sāvumane* (death-house) belonging to the *Motta*. At Barliar they do the same. These *Sāvumanes* are small cromlechs of three upright stones and a covering slab; they said they did not now make them, but that they used those made by their forefathers. . They knew of no god peculiar to the Kurumbas, nor

graphical Compendium . . of Coorg ; but the *Gazetteer* of *Mysore and Coorg* by Mr. Lewis Rice should also be consulted.[108]

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had they any temple, but at a certain season they took offerings of plantains to the *Pujāri* (a Tamil man) who attended on Maleswara (lord of the mountain), the god who lived on a hill known by that name."—I take the *Eda* to be the *Iḍaiya Kuṟumba*.

Compare with these extracts Colonel Ouchterlony's *Geographical and Statistical Memoir* . . of the *Neilgherry Mountains*, pp. 62, 63 in Dr. Shortt's *Hill Ranges*, Part I, and Mr. H. B. Grigg's Chapter on the Kurumbas in his *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, pp. 208–217.

[108] About the Kurumbas of Kurg consult Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium . . . of Coorg*, pp. 11–15. " The Kurumbas of Coorg are closely connected with those of the jungles of South-Mysore and with the Kurumbas of the Nilgiries, . . but there is now no intercourse between them, nor have they any connexion with the shepherd caste of Mysore, the *Kurubas* who live in the open country in mixed villages and tend cattle, sheep and swine and also weave cumblies, whence they are called *Halu-*, *Kuri*, *Handi-* and *Cambli Kurubas*. The *Kurumbas* in Coorg are divided into two distinct sections, the *Jénu* and the *Beṭṭa Kurumbas*. The *Jénu Kurumbas* are found in the north and south-east of Coorg scattered in the jungles. They have no fixed abode but wander about from place to place in search of honey, hence their name, *Jénu* meaning honey in Kanarese. . In appearance the *Jénu Kurumbas* are not unlike the *Betta Kurumbas ;* but the men do not tie their hair in a knot, and from carelessness it often gets matted. . The women who dress like the Canarese *Vokkaligas* tie their rather curly hair into a knot at the back of the head. Those I saw had regular features and might have been taken for *Vokkaligas*. . Also in their wedding ceremonies they conform to those of the *Vokkaligas*, but worship *Kari Kali* at Kutta like the Coorgs. . . The name *Beṭṭa* or *Kadu Kurumbas* is derived from their abode. . A short flat nose, which in the women is turned up with deep indentation at the root, prominent lips, small dark deep-set eyes do not enhance the personal attractiveness of the *Beṭṭa Kurumba*, yet he is a harmless good-humoured fellow and industrious at his work as long as it pleases him. He loves above all things personal freedom and independence and is quite in is native element when roaming about on a hunting expedition as tracker of large game. . . In their religious practices they are devoted to demon worship and once within three years they bring the usual offering (*Kanike*) of money, fowl, cocoanut and plantains to *Kuttadamma* or *Karinkali* (Black Kali) at *Kurchi* near the south-east frontier of Coorg. The eatables are shared between the *pujari* who is a Vokkaliga, and the devotee. At the *Kuttadamma Jatri* (March-April) the *Betta Kurumbas* perform a dance accompanied by drum and gong; they also wear small round bells (*gejje*) below the knee and in a stooping posture with outstretched arms and clenched fists they vigorously move round. They do not venerate snakes, but kill them, nor do they apply *Vibhuti* or sacred ashes. The *Betta Kurumbas* are divided into two sections or gotras, the *Mundpadi*, literally families belonging to three hamlets, and the *Yelpadi* or families belonging to seven hamlets, and as among the higher castes of Hindus, members of the same *gotra*, do not intermarry . . . Their principal *Bhutas* are *Ajja* and *Kuda*. . . In case of sickness what remedies are known to the elders are applied and vows made to the demon, *Kuttadamma*, and fulfilled on recovery.

According to their rank the first to be considered are the *Aṇḍa Kuṟumbas* who superintend the administration. Next follow the *Kuṟumba Okkaligas* or agricultural Kuṟumbas whom we find mentioned in the Nīlagiri Census Report. Though the number assigned to them is very insignificant, the circumstance of their being reported at all is highly interesting, for it supplies a link to connect them with a respectable and influential class of people in Mysore, the well-known *Okkaligaru*. *Okkalu*, pronounced Vokkalu, signifies in Kanarese 'tenancy,' *okkalatana*, husbandry, and *okkaliga*, a farmer or cultivator. Dr. Buchanan calls this caste, which is very numerous in Mysore, also *Cunabis*. These I shall eventually identify with the Kunbis, Kumbis (Kurmis) or Kuḍumbis, the agricultural class to which Śivāji, the great Maratha chieftain belonged who with his Kuḍumbis of Kuḍumba or Kuṟumba extraction effected such a change in the political aspect of India, some two hundred years ago. The sentence in the text of Buchanan leaves it doubtful, whether he referred to the *Cunabis* as an ethnological or professional distinction. Not all, perhaps not even the majority of the Okkaligas of Mysore are of Kuṟumba origin. With the exception of the abovementioned Gaṅgaḍikāras and the Noṇaba Okkaligas, the others appear to have been later settlers in Mysore. Their name implies only an occupation, but it is a remarkable fact that many Okkaligas, who do not cultivate the soil are engaged in similar pursuits such as the Kuṟumbas embrace. Both tribes for instance have a predilection for a military life, and, what is more suggestive still, both communities are under the same Gurus, or spiritual superiors, the chief of whom resides at Kaṅgundi in

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Their dead are buried, the corpse being placed sideways with the head to the west. A widow may be remarried to a relative of the deceased husband, but not to a stranger . . Of the Mysore and Nilgiri *Kurumbas* it is said that they eat the flesh of the cow, but those in Coorg abhor it."

The Rev. G. Richter is, according to my opinion (see p. 217), mistaken in his tribal distinction between the Kuṟumbas and the Kuṟubas.

Bara-mahal. The Pūjāri of the Beṭṭa Kuṟumbas in Kurg is also an Okkaliga. The last Census Report fixes their number at 711,622 souls. The Mysore Okkaligas have some peculiar customs, not the least extraordinary among them being that which prevails among the women of the Morasa Okkaligas, who cut off the ring and little fingers of their right hand, before they celebrate the marriage of their eldest daughter.[109]

The shepherds are known as *Kuṟumba Iḍaiyas*, *Kuṟumba Gollas*, occasionally also as *Kuṟi Kuṟumbas* and even as *Haṇḍe Kuṟumbas*. Others keep pigs, this do the widely-spread *Handi-Kuṟumbas*, who must not be confounded with the Haṇḍe Kuṟumbas; the *Pāl* or *Hāl Kuṟumbas* sell milk; the *Kambali Kuṟumbas* weave and sell woollen blankets, which they themselves wear in a peculiar fashion; and the *Cuṇṇāmbu Kuṟumbas* prepare and sell lime. The *Kuṟumba Vēḍas* or hunting Kuṟumbas are well known in the Tamil country,[110] while the *Āne Kuṟumbas* seem to have obtained their name from their cleverness in way-laying and hunting elephants. The *Kaḷḷa-Kuṟumbas* lived not so long ago an easy life as thieves and robbers. Most likely they formed part of the warrior class and took to marauding in times of peace for want of other occupation, and in order to support them-

[109] See Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 180, 181: "The Ruddi are one of the tribes of *Sūdra* caste, which being much employed in agriculture are called *Woculigaru* in the language of *Karnata*, and *Cunabi* in that of the Decany Mussulmans... They are divided into two sects by a difference of religion; one party worshipping *Vishnu*, and the other *Siva*; but this does not prevent intermarriages. Those who worship *Siva* are followers of a kind of *Jangamas*; but do not wear the *Linga*. The people with whom I conversed seemed to consider them as the same with the *Jangamas* of the *Pancham Banijigas*, but this caste informed me, that they were distinct, and that the Gurus of the *Ruddi* were the same with those of the *Curubaru*, whose chief resides at Cangundy in the Bara-mahal." Compare Mr. L. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 337, 338, 340, vol. III, pp 208, 209, also the *Ethnological Compendium* of the Rev. G. Richter, p. 13, and pp. 260–264.

[110] See Mackenzie Collection, No. 11, C.M. 765, Sect., new copy, vol. III, p. 298, where the *Aṇḍa*, *Iḍaiya*, *Kambali*, *Cuṇṇāmbu* and *Vēḍa-Kuṟumbas* are mentioned, and also No. 14, C.M. 768, Section VII.

selves. The circumstances, however, are now changed, and the Kallas in Pudukōṭa are no longr the dread of their neighbours.

Among the Kuṟumbas of the *Maṇḍyam Tālūk* are found the following nine divisions: the *Pāl*, *Hāḍe*, *Mullu*, *Kambaḷi*, *Sāda*, *Javāḍu*, *Sōmavāra*, *Bestvāra* and *Ā'ityavāra Kuṟumbas*. These last three designations appear like nick-names, for they are peculiarly enough names of days of the week.

Besides these there are mentioned the *Kuṟumbas*, whose name Buchanan connects with *kolli*, fire, but whom others call *Kāḷi-Kuṟubas* or *Jille-Kuṟubas* after the Goddess Kāḷī. The *Nelli Kuṟumbas* (?); the *Asil Kuṟumbas* (? from *asal*, pure); the *Kōti Kuṟumbas* (? perhaps from *kōti*, monkey); the *Kuṟuba* [illegible] *Kuṟubas* (? connected with the Sanskrit word [illegible] meaning of chief); the *Mūrhiṇḍina Kuṟumbas* [illegible]s), whose name reminds one of the *Mund*-[illegible]rections of the Beṭṭa Kuṟumbas in Kurg, [illegible] three or to seven hamlets, according to Rev. [illegible]ompendium*, p. 13. It is very doubtful whether [illegible]*uṟumbas*, who inhabit the Nīlagiri mountains [illegible] Rev. F. Metz counts among the Kuṟumbas, [illegible]garded as Kuṟumbas. The other Kuṟumbas do [illegible]em at all like relations; nor do they, and this is [illegible] of importance, inspire the other native tribes with superstitious fear, which renders the *Mullu* and *Nāyaka Kuṟumbas* so terrible. They also do not resemble the other Kuṟumbas in their outward appearance. Their abject state of servitude (hence their name *pania*, from *pani*, work) would not absolutely militate against their being Kuṟumbas, though these people have generally contrived to maintain a certain amount of freedom, for the Curumbalun or Catalun of the Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu in Malabar were, according to Dr. Buchanan's description, held in slavery.[111]

The Kuṟumbas are said to belong to the *Haryaka* Gōtra,

[111] See note 16 on pp. 225, 226.

and to the *Rēṇuka* or *Rēṇa* Sūtras. According to legendary report the Kuṟumbas orm the offspring of the family of *Unne*, this being a tadbhavam of *Ūrṇā*, sheep-wool. Their connection with the sheep is traced to a curse of the celestial buffoon *Bhṛṅgī*, who, being dissatisfied with the Pramathas, the attendants of Śiva, is said to have cursed and turned them into sheep; saying:

Pramathā Bṛṅgiśāpēna kavaẏ'pyavayō'bhavan.

This curse was eventually removed by Rēṇukārādhya or Rēvaṇasiddha, an incarnation of a servant of Śiva, and the high-priest of the Liṅgayats.

Some of the Kuṟumba hill-tribes has been reduced by the hard life they lead to a dwarfish and monkey appearance, but that this exterior is to a great these unfavorable circumstances and that it better conditions is exemplified by the following of Dr. Shortt: "Whilst the appearance of "uncouth and forbidding in their own forest "open to wonderful improvement by regular w "and food; of this ample evidence is to be seen "ernment Chinchona Plantations at Neddiwutt "gang of Kuṟumbas, comprising some twenty "are employed as laborers, receiving their wages "for the most part. They appear to give satisfaction to "employers, and in their general appearance they cannot "be recognized from other natives, except perhaps by that "peculiar physiognomy characteristic to the tribe and their "somewhat slight conformation and dwarfed stature. They "have not the pot-belly, do not gape, nor is the dribbling "saliva or blood-shot eyes, common to their brethren of the "jungles to be found among them." [112]

[112] Read Dr. Shortt's *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*, Part I, pp. 52, 53. Compare also Mr. W. F. Sinclair's 'Remark' in the *Indian Antiquary* (1877), vol. VI, p. 230: "In the Kaladgī district the Shepherd caste are called Kurubhars. ... What is the meaning and derivation of *Kurubhar*, and is it

On their religion, manners and customs.

According to the most trustworthy native authorities, the Kuṟumbas had originally no special god, nor idols, nor any peculiar religious belief of their own. This state of things was eventually changed with the rise of proselytizing religions, such as Buddhism, Jainism, and with the desire of the majority to conform to Hindu or Brahmanic customs.

Their earliest objects of religious worship, however, appear to have been rough rounded stones, which somehow inspired them with a belief as representing the great superhuman powers. The weird aspect of the imposing immovable stone-hills, which braved the strongest storms amidst torrents of rain and flashes of lightning impressed most probably these children of nature to such an extent, that mountains, rocks and even smaller pieces of stones appeared to them the most appropriate representation of the deity. It may be perhaps added, that such kind of material is most easily set up and does not require any art to adjust it. This stone-worship has survived among the Kuṟumbas to the present day. A stone to which worship is paid stands often in caves or in the middle of circles, likewise formed of stone, but it must not be regarded as a Liṅga. The stone circle with its centre-piece is known among natives as a *Kuṟumba Kōvil* or temple of the Kuṟumbas. This stone is in the Nīlagiri district remembered as the Hiriadēva or Great God. The Kuṟumbas of the Nīlagiris offer presents of plantains to the Pūjāri of the Malēśvara idol on a high cliff which overlooks the Bhavāni valley, while those of Malabar worship similarly their hill god Malayadēva.[113] Occasionally we meet with a stone-block under a tree, which is revered as Guruṇātha.

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the same word as *Kurambâ*, the name of Nilgiri hill-tribe? The latter, I believe, is a race of dwarfs; the shepherds here are a fine breed of men; yet the difference can hardly be greater than that which exists among the Bhills."

[113] See pp. 225 n. 105, 229 n. 116, Breeks' *Tribes*, pp. 52 and 55, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. II, p. 155.

The meaning of the name of this village god has hitherto defied identification, but is, I believe, now pretty clear. I think that *Guru* stands for Kuṟu, the original form of Kuṟuva or Kuṟumba, and that Gurunātha in Telugu *Gurunāthuḍu* is in reality identical with the god of the Kuṟus or Kuṟumbaṣ.

As the bulk of the Kuṟumbas are shepherds or *Kuṟi-kuṟumbas* and as their property is represented by the flocks of sheep they possess, their god is often called the Lord or King of the Sheep Hill or *Kuṟi-beṭṭa-rāya.*[114]

Like other nations the Kuṟumbas also have repeatedly changed their religion, and very many different beliefs are prevalent among them. At an early age a considerable fraction of the Kuṟumbas adopted the Jaina faith and became eventually bigoted adherents of this sect. It seems in fact that their fanatical efforts to spread and to ensure the general adoption of this religion have been among the chief causes of the collapse of their power in the central districts of the Madras Presidency, *i.e.*, in the country round Kāñcīpuram. The campaign of Āḍoṇḍa Cōḻa was specially undertaken to crush the threatening supremacy of Jainism, and the religious element played in it as important a part as the political.[115] The ascendancy of Śaivism was the most important result of the war, but Jainism is by no means extinct among the Kuṟumbas. The Liṅgayats claim also a considerable number of adherents, and *Rēṇukārādhya or Rēvaṇa Siddhēśvara* is their high priest in certain parts of Mysore.[116] Rēṇukārādhya is said to have chosen in Śriśaila the Kuṟumba leader *Padmarasa* (from *Padma* and *Arasu*,

[114] About *Gurunātha* see p. 200, and consult pp. 225 n. 105, 226 n. 106, and 229 n. 107, where the Rev. F. Metz's *Kuribattaraya*, Mr. Breeks' *Kuribattrāya*, and Dr. F. Buchanan's "temple of *Bira* which is situated on *Curi-betta*, or the Sheep Hill" are mentioned.

[115] See a petition of the Jains of Kumbakōṇam, Cittūr, Vṛddhācalam and other places who complained about their losing their temples through Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa and Āḍoṇḍa Cōḻa.

[116] Rēvaṇasiddha or Rēṇukārādhya is said to have resided on the Kailāsa mountain.

king) or Padmaṇṇa as his disciple and alienated him from Jainism. Śiva is revered under various forms, most frequently as Bhairava, but also as Vīrabhadra, and the temple of the god '*Bīra* on *Curibetta*' is most probably his shrine.[117] *Ejuruppa* I take to be *Iruḷappan*, the god of darkness; *Barama Deva* is perhaps Brahma if not Paramēśvara;[118] Durgawa, *Yacani* (*Yakṣaṇī* or more correctly Yakṣiṇī), *Mayava* (Māyavā) and *Musni* (?) are mentioned as the deities revered by the Kuṟumbas; and Durgā, Māyavā and Musni are worshipped as the wives of Śiva. In Kurg the monster *Kuttadamma* or *Karinkāli* (black Kālī) is revered by the Kuṟumbas.[119]

It seems that *Śakti*, as well as *Bhūta* or demon-worship exists in some Kuṟumba communities, though the authorities do not agree with respect to the Bhūtacult.[120]

Rāma is not adored by the Kuṟumbas, and *Dharmarāja*, the favorite deity of the Paḷḷis and other Dravidian races, shares the same fate, which fact must be regarded as very significant.[121]

The Mackenzie Collection contains an interesting description of the manner in which *Vīrabhadra* is worshipped by the Iḍaiya Kuṟumbas who belong to the Yādava race.[122] Vīrabhadra is generally regarded as an Avatāra of Śiva, who, according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, proceeded from the mouth of Śiva to spoil the sacrifice of Dakṣa, and who is described as "a divine being with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes,

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[117] See p. 225 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 275, 312, 389; vol. II, pp. 435, 436.

[118] See pp. 224, 225 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 381; vol. II, p. 436.

[119] See pp. 225 n. 105, 230 n. 108, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. II, p. 436, and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 13.

[120] See pp. 225 n. 105, 230 n. 108, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 271; vol. II, p. 381, and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnogr. Compend.*, p. 13.

[121] See p. 222 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 276.

[122] See Mackenzie Collection, No. 9, C.M. 763, XII, in the new copy, vol. IV, pp. 76, ff., and Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 368, 369.

a thousand feet; wielding a thousand clubs, a thousand shafts, holding the shell, the discus, the mace, and bearing a blazing bow and battle-axe." [123] It is now, I believe, impossible to decide whether the Vīrabhadra of the Kuṟumbas represents a national, or is a Hindu divinity. According to our MS. the Kuṟumbas have no national worship, but revere only one deity whom they call *Vīra*, *Vīralu*, or *Vīrabhaḍra*. His feast is celebrated once a year, on new moon day of the Tamil month *Tai*, or about January. The idol is kept shut up in a box in a special room during the whole remaining time of the year. On the anniversary of the festival the box is reverently opened and the idol, which is made of brass, is taken out of it. The image is about a span long, and is placed in an upright position on a cloth spread over the floor, after it has been thoroughly cleaned with tamarind juice and well washed. The figure of the idol is then dressed in clothes, and flowers are placed on its head. Incense is burnt in front of it. Some raw rice is then cooked with milk and water in a new earthen pot, and presented to the idol on a plantain leaf. Plantains, betel-leaf and nuts, are besides offered, and cocoanuts are broken in its honor. After the ceremony is over, the idol is carried back to its usual place, and the people sit down to their meals. The feast lasts three consecutive days, but eight days before its commencement the worshippers take an oil bath, abstain from all sensual enjoyments, prepare their food in clean unprofaned vessels, do not eat flesh but bathe daily. He who has observed all the prescriptions most conscientiously, is placed in front of the idol, and the cocoanuts are broken on his head. The man who breaks the cocoanut, keeps it. If the man's head begins to bleed by the breaking of the cocoanuts, he is suspected of having committed some offence, and thus to have incurred pollution. He must bathe again, and the trial with the cocoanuts is repeated a second time. If his head

[123] See H H. Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, vol. I, pp. 128–132.

should begin to bleed again, he is finally rejected as impure. Whoever passes the test, becomes the *Pūjāri* for the time being. After this ceremony the Kurumbas dance together, beat drums and blow trumpets.

At the great festivals in Pudukōṭa the Kurumbas perform a similar ceremony in the presence of the Mahārāja, when the image of *Vīralakṣmī* is carried in procession and worshipped.

Some Kurumbas believe in a life after death, while others deny a future existence. They differ also in their way of disposing of their dead; some burn, others bury the corpses. The good, according to some, become after their death, benevolent spirits, while the bad assume the shape of evil spirits; and those who die unmarried become Vīrikas. But it seems that even the spirits of the good require some stimulant to keep them quiet, and unless they are supplied by liquor, in their anger they inflict various [illegible] burn the good but bury the bad, as the [illegible] thus confined in the ground [illegible] chief.[124]

The Kurumbas have the peculiar custom [illegible] when speaking [illegible] Kaurs,[125] of shaving [illegible] rely when they have [illegible] a funeral of any of their community. This custom of the Kurumbas was once the cause of a great calamity.[126] The Kurumbas had made themselves extremely unpopular by their intolerance. During the reign of the Rājas of Vijayanagara the Kurumba Iḍaiyas were powerful in several other places, especially in Nerumpūr, Śālapākkam and other similar strongholds. The Kurumbas, either actuated by religious zeal or wishing to annoy their dependents, tried

[124] See pp. 222 n. 105, 223 n. 105, 225 n. 105, 226 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 275, 380, 381; vol. II, pp. 155.

[125] See p. 210.

[126] See Mackenzie Collection, No. II; C.M. 765, VII; compare Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 399-400.

to force the Muḍalis and Vellālas to pay homage to them by bowing their heads respectfully to them. But these two classes refusing to do it, the Kuṟumbas in revenge ill-treated and oppressed them in all sorts of ways. They constructed for this purpose very low entrances at the various places where the Muḍalis and Vellālas had to pass through gates, and they thought that they would thus compel these men to lower their heads when going through these entrances, and extract from them in this manner a certain amount of involuntary homage. But the Muḍalis and Vellālas of *Nerum-* were quite equal to the occasion, and instead of bowing their heads, they scrambled through with their legs foremost, so that they added injury to insult; and the Kuṟumbas became only more exacting. At last the Vellālas could stand this treatment no longer and determined to get rid of their oppressors. For this purpose they had recourse to a leading barber, who was induced by liberal promises of gifts of [illegible] scheme to help them, and this man persuaded [illegible] to kill the Kuṟumbas when an opportunity [illegible] on the above-mentioned [illegible] the Kuṟumbas who attend a [illegible]s. About this time a prominent [illegible] Kuṟumbas died, and the Muḍalis and [illegible] availed themselves of this [illegible]nity to instruct the head barber to issue orders to his [illegible]ple to kill the Kuṟumbas while they were being shaved. As the shaving was performed pretty simultaneously, [illegible]ber cut the throat of his Kuṟumba customer, and all the Kuṟumbas of Nerumpūr were thus massacred. As soon as the tidings of the murder of their husbands reached the Kuṟumba women, they determined not to survive them, and burnt themselves with the corpses of their consorts. The dying widows uttered the curse that Nerumpūr should never again produce enough grain to buy salt, even if three crops of grain were reaped every year. The fortification and irrigation works of the Kuṟumbas have fallen into ruins since then, and only the

earth-mounds and old brick walls near Sadras betray the existence of an ancient town.

Their marriage customs differ also considerably. Originally they did not perform any ceremonies at their marriages, but later on, the majority adopted Jaina or Hindu rites. A manuscript in the Mackenzie Collection contains the following description which, however, resembles the common Hindu marriage customs.[127] The bride and the bridegroom are anointed with oil, and dress themselves after their bath in new clothes. The bride sits in the pandal on the left and the bridegroom on the right. Both are adorned with flowers and have golden tinsel (*bhāsikam*) on their foreheads. A shoot of the *Pippal* or Holy Figtree (*Aracu*, அரசு) is fixed between the two inner posts of the pandal, in which the ceremonies are performed and the people walk round those posts. The marriage is attended by the headman and all relatives. The former when approaching the betrothed couple breaks a cocoanut, and places the Tāli which is fastened to a golden string, in the upper cup. This is handed round to ten or more relatives, who shout *maṅgali, maṅgali*. Eventually the bridegroom, who receives the Tāli, at last fastens it round the neck of the bride, uttering the name of *Gōvinda*. The nearest relatives now with crossed hands pour saffron-colored raw rice on the heads of the young pair: this ceremony is called Cēṣai (சேஷை), in Telugu Sesa (శేష).[128] After this the couple prostrate themselves before the feet of their elders and sit down in their midst. Betel leaves an nuts are then handed round, and the eating and drinking commences. After the distribution of garlands, the *Kaṅkaṇas* tied on the right wrists of the happy pair. The Cēṣai ceremony is repeated during the two following days, while the bride and bridegroom occupy their former seats; after that the guests are liberally entertained. On the fourth and fifth days pepperwater (miḷakutaṇṇi) and rice are served out. On the later day the bride

127 See Mackenzie Collection, new copy, vol. V, p. 78.

128 From the Sanskrit *Śirṣa*, head.

is taken to her mother's house, where cakes are distributed and a sumptuous meal is provided for all relatives and friends. Two men are then despatched from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, where they are welcomed as the escort of the young pair to the bridegroom's house, and receive on starting with them a bundle containing eleven rice-cakes and a lot of jaggery.

Many peculiar customs prevail among the Kurumba women, some of which they share with other castes. They generally take assafœtida after childbirth and bathe on the fifth day.[129] Adultery is generally leniently punished and condoned with a fine. This is as a rule spent on an entertainment, after which the woman is readmitted into society.

The Tāli is not removed from the neck of a widow, unless she desires to remarry. In this case the marriage-tie is returned to the family of her former husband, and she wears that given by her new husband. A widow may remarry as often as she likes.

On our historical knowledge about the Kurumbas.

We are very insufficiently informed about the early history of the Kurumbas. Before they settled down to anything like domestic life, they roamed as *Vēḍas* in the virgin forests hunting the deer for its flesh and the wild animals for their own safety. In some places traces of an ancient Kurumba occupation are not yet effaced. The Rev F. Metz writes respecting their settlement on the Nīlagiri mountains as follows: "There are strong grounds for supposing that "the Kurumbas once occupied and cultivated the plateau of "the hills, and were driven thence by the Todas into the "unhealthy localities which they now inhabit, on the pretext "of their being a race of sorcerers whose presence was a bane "to the happiness of the other hill-tribes. Several spots near

[129] See Mackenzie Manuscripts, No. 14, C.M. 758. The Tamil for assafœtida is பெருங்காயம் *Perungāyam*.

"the Badaga villages bear the name of 'Motta' to this day, "and traces of houses are still visible; and in one place a "stone enclosure for buffaloes is to be seen, which, as I gather "from an old piece of Badaga poetry formerly belonged to a "rich Kurumba, who was murdered by the Todas, at the insti- "gation of the Badagas . . . The Todas and Badagas say "that the Kurumbas are the enemies of their peace, and that "they cannot live without killing them. Some years ago "I discovered the site of a former Kurumba town, of the "existence of which I was well aware, but which I had never "been able to trace out. It is in the heart of a dense forest, "totally unfrequented by the natives and probably never "penetrated by any European."[130]

The Mackenzie Collection contains about the Kurumbas of the Tamil districts some interesting information. From one manuscript (No. 14 C.M., 768) I extract the following account:

"The country of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was after the deluge totally covered with forest and was infested with wild beasts. A people of wild hunters, known as *Vēḍas*, roamed about in the woods. They lived in huts which they had erected after clearing the country. Their place of settlement is still called *Vēḍar Pāḷayam*. No kings ruled over them, and they did just what they pleased. Besides their huts, they had no places in which they could protect themselves. They were guided neither by social nor religious rules, nor had they any books. In fact they were merely a lot of naked savages, who did not observe any ceremonies even at their marriages. They killed the wild beasts of the forests and lived on their flesh.

"The Kurumbas of the Karṇāṭa country had meanwhile risen to prominence, and, after their numbers had increased, began to tyrannize over the other inhabitants. The Kurumbas had very barbarous and cruel habits, and deserved to be

[130] See Rev. F. Metz' *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p

called Kuṟumbas. (This is an allusion to the meaning of குறும்பு, *Kuṟumpu*, or குறும்புத்தனம், *Kuṟumputtanam*, savageness, stubbornness, insolence, wickedness. It is, however, derived from the national name of the Kuṟumbas, and not *vice versâ*.) In course of time they extended their dominion to the very border of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and a few Kuṟumbas settled in Śālapākkam near Uttaramallūr, where their descendants are still known as Kuṟumbas. Before they had any king, they roved about unrestrained like wild hunters in the forests, till, when dissensions and quarrels had arisen among them, *Kamaṇḍa Prabhu* restored peace and quiet. He convinced them that it would be to their advantage to elect a king and they followed his advice. As he was a wise and popular man, he himself was chosen king, and henceforward he was known as *Kamaṇḍa Kuṟumba Prabhu*, the ruler of the Drāviḍa country and Rāja of Puḷal. The kingdom was called *Kuṟumbabhūmi*, the land of the Kuṟumbas, and this name was entered in all the official documents. He built a fort at the town of Puḷal, its walls were constructed of bell-metal, and its strength and grandeur defied description. His rule extended over a vast territory, and as several of his subjects betrayed occasionally an inclination to rebel against him, he subdivided his realm into 24 districts, in each of which he erected a stronghold and appointed a governor. The fort of Puḷal was his own capital. The following are the names of some of these fortified places: Puḷalkōṭṭai, Āmūrkōṭṭai, Kāḷāttūrkōṭṭai, Puliyūrkōṭṭai, Cempūrkōṭṭai, Ūṟṟukāṭṭukōṭṭai, Veṇkuṇakōṭṭai, Ikkāṭṭukōṭṭai and Paṭuvūrkōṭṭai.[131]

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[131] The late F. W. Ellis gives in his classical article on the Mirāsi questions all the 24 names, besides the above named are further mentioned: Maṇavūrkōṭṭai, Ceṅkaṭṭukōṭṭai, Paiyūrkōṭṭai, Eṟūrkōṭṭai, Tumaṟkōṭṭai, Palkuṇṟakōṭṭai, Ṉaṅkaṭṭukōṭṭai, Kaliyūrkōṭṭai, Ciṟukāraikōṭṭai, Kaṭikaikōṭṭai, Cantūrkaikōṭṭai, Kuṇṟapattirakōṭṭai, Veṅkaṭakōṭṭai and Veḷūrkōṭṭai. —Mr. Ellis obtained the list from the Jñānaprakāśa Maṭam. Compare the *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, Madras, 1862, pp. 235-241.

See also Abbé Dubois' *Description of the People of India*, second edition, and Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, pp. 64, 65.

"While Kamanda Prabhu ruled, the various tribes in the country submitted to his rule, and the people could ...ietly follow their various avocations. Some engaged in ..., others in husbandry, and so on, according to their ...cial inclinations, though the majority devoted themselves sheep-tending, woollen blanket-weaving and lime-selling. ...ntured at that time to engage in shipping. ...Cetti merchants from Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam settled ...ba country. Stimulated by them the Kuṟum- ...eloped a taste and an aptitude for commerce, ...er to facilitate mercantile transactions, they built ...ourse of time strongholds at Paṭṭipulam, Śālakuppam, ...pākkam, Meyyūr, Kadalūr, Ālamparai, Marakkāṇam, ...lations, The Kuṟumbas and Cettis of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam occupied ...As already ...ified ports, and as they were successful in their ...ion of their o... amassed great wealth and became influential. ...try, was able t... intimated the Kuṟumbas had no special ...inism. The J... even ve... nvert the greater portion of the people ...mour of that ..., and some ...ina basti which the king of Pulal erected ...is conversion. ... Kuṟum... priest, remains up to this day a monument ...still existing soon dev... Besides this building, a few other bastis ...sculptures ...d in ord... though in a very dilapidated condition. ...are how... ... are now occasionally found in the rice-fields; ...wever, either destroyed or reburied in the ...rotu... Brahmans and other religious enemies of the ...ains. Many Kuṟumbas resemble in their present manners ...d customs the Jains of former times, and they do so ...ecially in their marriage ceremonies.

"While the Kuṟumbas ruled over the land, their more ...vilized neighbours often attacked them, but were generally defeated. The Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings made thus repeated inroads into the Kuṟumba territory; but their attempts to subdue their fierce foes were in vain, as they did not mind to sacrifice their lives on the battle-field. Some of these royal aggressors were at times captured and chained in fetters to

the fort-gate of Pulal. These continual successes, however, turned the head of the Kurumbas and made them overbearing, so that they began to annoy and ill-treat those their subjects who belonged to rival tribes, or had emb other religious beliefs. They endeavoured in fact to fo the Jain religion on all, and created great dissatisfacti by their religious intolerance. Yet no one oppose them effectually.

"At last *Ádoṇḍa Cōḷa*, a brave, wise and marched against the Kurumbas and invested Pulal with a large army. He began this camp any could no longer endure the tyranny and mal-administrat The of the Kurumba king and resolved to defeat him at ery, and risk, in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people valiantly, at Kurumba king on his side was not wanting in bra Cōḷa were put to went to face the enemy. Both sides fought he fled from the last three-fourths of the army of Ādond emaining followers the sword, and unable to resist longer This locality is battle-field and took refuge with a few rose who coul his mind to in a place not far distant from the fo jore. But at still known as *Cōḷanpēḍu*. He then mad popular prince, said: "After retreat on the next morning to his countr their capital night Śiva appeared to him in a dream a aign as he n your way to ascending to-morrow mo ning your elephant in a the battle, you will find that his legs are e jasmine-creeper (Mullai), and when you try to it awa with your sword, blood will ooze out of it, and on clos examination you will discover there a Liṅga." Encourag by his dream, he went to the battle-field, and, after ascend his elephant, saw that the legs of the animal were caugh a jasmine bush and that blood oozed out from the spot whe he tried to cut it.[132] This sign confirmed his resolution to

[132] Compare *Toṇḍala śatakam*, p. 4, śl. 9: "When Toṇḍaman was driven from the battle-field, his elephant was prevented from moving by a jasmine-creeper. Afterwards he fought again and became victorious." A description of this fact is given in a work called *Tirumullaivāyalpatikam*.

his fierce enemies, and he secured a complete victory
Ādoṇḍa Cōḷa captured the Kuṟumba king and
death. Puḷal, the chief town and fort of the
s taken, and its brass doors were placed in the
arbhagṛha) of the temple of Tanjore. A
ka (*Calatropis gigantea*) wood that had been
Tanjore temple, was placed in the interior
rected at the spot where the Śivaliṅga had
temple was called *Tiru-mullai-vāśal*, after
which had covered the legs of the ele-
f the Liṅga where the sword of Ādoṇḍa
d like a wound, and is therefore covered
eal the sore.

ty-three forts were then taken, and
retinues were also killed. Ādoṇḍa
their fs instead of the Kuṟumbas. As
ellāḷa chie y was very thinly populated, he
ed that the count districts and induced them
Vellāḷas from different erritory, by granting them
settle in the newly-acquired them other favours. The
freehold land and conferring on re the Tuḷuva, Cōḷiya and
Veḷḷāḷas who accepted the offer w wo were called after the
Koṇḍaikaṭṭi Veḷḷāḷas. The *Tuḷuva Veḷḷāḷas* migrated from
district they came from. Kanara and the *Cōḷiya Veḷḷāḷas* from
the Tuluva-Nāḍu in e *Koṇḍaikaṭṭi Veḷḷāḷas* wer so called,
the Cōḷanāḍu. T hair in a tuft on the top of their head
from binding thei a small lock (Kuḍumi). With these
instead of leaving ame the *Kaṇakka-Piḷḷaikaḷ* or accountants.
Veḷḷāḷas together

"Ādoṇḍa Cōḷa ruled the land with justice and in peace, and was henceforth known as Ādoṇḍa Cōḷa Cakravarti or as Toṇḍamān Cakravarti. The country which had hitherto been called Kuṟumbabhūmi was now named Toṇḍamaṇḍalam."

In order to ascertain what was left of Puḷal, I lately visited the place and its neighbourhood. It lies about 8 miles north-west of Madras, to the east of the big lake, known as

the Red-Hills Tank. The place where the old fort stood is still remembered and pointed out by t... However, the outlines of the outer and inner m... now only visible, within the latter is a tank... must have encircled once a fort of consid... which nothing however remains. Hyder ... to Madras encamped here. Pulal is also c... and near it is situated a small hamlet *Mād...*

About a mile to the north-east lies t... Pulal, in which I found three temples. ... dedicated to *Aditirthaṅkara*, though in a d... still used for worship, and has the repu... The Vaiṣṇava temple of *Karimāṇikyam* ... pear to be ancient, while the erecti... ascribed to Ādoṇḍa Cōḷa. It is d... edica... but as a famous sannyāsi Sund... there, it is known as the shrine ...ramūrtisv... dently pretty old, and, thou... of *Sundarēśvara*. ago, is in a dilapidated sta...gh partly repaired some... Cōḷa temple, and is cover...e. It has the appearance of ... on the outside being in...d with inscriptions, those seen possesses no Sinhalapurā... bad condition. The temple name of the g...ddess is *Svar...nāmbikā*. ...nor ... copper Śāsanams. The

On the o...ner side of the lake, abo... six miles towards south-west, lies th... hamlet *Tirumullaivā...* ...*al* or *Tirumullai-vāyal*, which is named after the adventu...e which befell the prince Āḍoṇḍa in his combat against t...he Kurumbas. A temple is erected near the spot where ...he Liṅga was wounded by the sword of the Cōḷa prince and ...dedicated to Śiva as *Mācillāmaṇi*, which is a Tamil translation of the Sanskrit *Nirmalāmaṇi*, meaning 'spotless jewel.' On one of the stone columns of the maṇṭapam in front of the Gōpuram is carved the figure of Āḍoṇḍa sitting on an elephant in the act of cutting with his sword the jasmine-creeper from the leg of the elephant. The similarity in the sound of *mullai*, jasmine, and *mala*, stain, raises a suspicion against the

genuineness of this legend. The temple is in good preservation. Two so-called Arka-pillars (not one as the manuscript just quoted states) are covered with a beam, and form with the two side walls the support of the Ardhamaṇṭapam, which communicates on the western side by a door in the common wall with the Garbhagṛha behind. Between, but behind the two Arka-pillars, is situated in the Garbhagṛha the holy Liṅga, which on account of its wound is covered with sandal-wood-powder and other cooling ingredients. The local legend contends that Āḍoṇḍa brought the two brownish-looking Arka-pillars, together with a bell, and a bronze door from the fort of Pulal. This gateway, however, has since disappeared. Cōḷanpēḍu lies close to Tirumullaivāśal.

In order to assist Āḍoṇḍa in his fight against the Kuṟumbas, Śiva sent his attendant *Nandi*, and in confirmation of this fact the Nandi at Tirumullaivāśal faces the east, instead of being turned towards the idol, *i.e.*, towards the west. The consort of *Mācillāmaṇi* is called *Koḍi iḍai Nāyaki*. The temple has a Sthalapurāṇa, its first part, which was only lent to me, does not contain any allusion to Āḍoṇḍa. I have been told that there are no Tāmra Śāśanams to throw light on the erection of the temple. Not far from this temple towards the south stands an enormous image, constructed of brick and mortar representing Mannarsvāmi, accompanied by the seven Sages.

A young Brahman D. Rāghavayya accompanied me and obtained some valuable information as I was not permitted to enter the temple, and I do not know whether it contains any important inscriptions. It may be well worth while to examine carefully the temples at Pulal and Tirumullaivāśal in order to ascertain whether they possess any account about Āḍoṇḍa Cakravarti, though I have been told that there is none. The battle between the Cōḷas and the Kuṟumbas was fought somewhere between those two places.

The origin of the word Toṇḍamaṇḍalam is doubtful, and different explanations are given of it. The most widely-

spread legend connects the name with the prince Āḍoṇḍa Cōḷa. As the destruction of the Kuṟumbas is attributed to this popular hero, an account of his origin will not be out of place here. The following story is found in several MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection: [133]

"In Cōḷamaṇḍalam ruled 44 descendants of the ancient Cōḷa Rājas. The last was Kulōṭṭuṅga Cōḷa, who had by his queen two children, a daughter and a son. Kulōṭṭuṅga Cōḷa killed the son of the poet Kamban, and Kamban killed in revenge the son of the king. At the royal entertainments of the court there was dancing for some time a beautiful girl *Nākināgaratna* with whom the king fell in love. But as Kulōttuṅga felt that he would lose the esteem of the people if he allowed his passion to transgress public decency, he kept his affection a great secret and used a servant girl *Umāpati* to arrange meetings between Nākināgaratna and himself. In course of time a boy was born, whom Umāpati dressed in a silk gown and put in a golden basket with Āḍoṇḍa flowers round him. She then placed the basket on the bank of the Kāvēri, near the spot where the king generally bathed. All this was done by the order of the king. When the king came afterwards with his Brahmans and courtiers to the river they heard a child cry, and, on approaching nearer, they saw it and said to the king: 'O king, as you forgave Kamban who killed your son, God presents to you this wonderful child on the bank of the Kāvēri. The child resembles you, and is worthy to become the ruler of the

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[133] In the *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam Cōḷamaṇḍalum-Paṇṭiyamaṇṭalam*, old No. 241, C.M. 66. This work is said to have been compiled by *Vēdanāyakan*, a Christian poet of Tanjore. See Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 41, 42. This work is copied in No. 7, C.M., 761, Section III (Taylor, vol. III, p. 370). A somewhat similar account is contained in No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II; in the new copy in the vol. II, pp. 65-67, and in Taylor, vol. III, pp. 426, 427; and also in No. 15, C.M. 769, I., new copy, vol. I, p. 125.

I need not specially point out the inaccuracies contained in this report, for they are too evident, as, *e.g.*, the foundation of Kāñci by Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa.

country. As he is adorned with Āḍoṇḍa flowers, we take this as a lucky omen and call him 'Āḍoṇḍa Cōḷa.'' Circumstances favouring so far the designs of the king, he gave the child to his wife with the words: 'God has presented this child to you near the Kāvēri.' The queen accepted it and brought it up with much affection. The truth about the birth of the child was not only known to the king and the dancing girl, but also to some extent to his chief minister. Meanwhile the child grew up, and displayed much cleverness, knowledge and courage. When the king consulted his minister about the marriage and succession of his son, the minister pretended to agree with the plans of the king, but communicated secretly to the relatives of the king the circumstances accompanying the birth of Āḍoṇḍa and the intentions of the king concerning the future of his son. The consequence was that the royal princes refused to marry one of their daughters to a bastard, and to allow his succession to the throne as it would throw dishonor on them. The minister communicated to Kulōttuṅga the unfavourable disposition of the princes. The king, however, did not give up his plans, but pondered how he might execute them in spite of their objections. At last he fixed on Toṇḍamaṇḍalam as a suitable province to give to Āḍoṇḍa, though it was still a wilderness. He explored it, cleared the forest, laid the foundation of the capital Kāñci, erected there a temple and dug a channel for the river Pālār. As Kulōttuṅga observed how thinly the land was inhabited, he despatched his minister with money to other countries to induce people to immigrate into the newly-acquired district. The minister accordingly returned with many boys and girls of various castes, and the king ordered them to be married. This done he placed Āḍoṇḍa on the throne at Kāñci. Kulōttuṅga then asked the minister to propose a suitable name for the country. In spite of the high position which Āḍoṇḍa had meanwhile secured, the minister still despised him on

account of his illegitimate birth. He suggested therefore that the new territory should be called Toṇḍamaṇḍalam (the district of slaves) and the king without any suspicion named it so.[134] Since that time this country has been called Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was thus founded by Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa. The name of Kuṟumbabhūmi was then changed into Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and Āḍoṇḍa Cōḷa was installed as Toṇḍamaṇḍala Cakravarti.[135]

"The legitimate daughter of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa had married Varaguṇapāṇḍya,[136] the only son of Bālacandrapāṇḍya. After Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa's death, which took place in the 69th year of his life, Varaguṇapāṇḍya took Cōḷamaṇḍalam and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, which had belonged to his father-in-law. Afterwards *Ubhayakulakiḷipāṇḍya*, the son of Varaguṇapāṇḍya and of the daughter of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa, ascended the throne of Cōḷamaṇḍalam, and his descendants reigned over it for three centuries.

"The progeny of Āḍoṇḍa Cōḷa submitted to their fate and received some land for their maintenance.

"Mīṉakētanapāṇḍya was the last and eleventh descendant of Ubhayakulakiḷipāṇḍya. So long as these kings ruled, no enemies were feared. These kings ruled for 2707 years."

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[134] MS. No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II, here inserts a short account of the war of Āḍoṇḍa Cōḷa with the Kuṟumbas, his first defeat and final victory. This MS. also calls always Toṇḍamaṇḍalam *Toṇḍarmoṇḍalam*.

[135] This last remark as well as the other about the Kuṟumbas is only found in No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II, which ends with this passage.

[136] Compare the Appendix by Rev. T. Foulkes to *A Manual of the Salem District*, vol. II, pp. 370, (sl. 18), 373, (sl. 18), 378, 379.

The father of Varaguṇa is generally given as Sundarēśvarapadaśēkhara and his son as Rāja Rāja, though the chronicles differ in their chronology; see H. H. Wilson's List of the Pāṇḍyan kings in his Historical Sketch in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, (1837), pp. 211, 213; Rev. W. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, vol. I, pp. 85-90. About Kamban's life refer to F. W. Ellis' replies to Mirāsi questions in *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, p. 292, where S.S. 808 (A.D. 886) is given as the date of his presenting the Tamil translation of the Rāmāyaṇa to his patron Rājēndra Cōḷa. Others prefer S.S. 807, A.D. 885.

The *Tiruvēṛkāṭṭu Purāṇam* [illegible] term Toṇḍamaṇḍalam [illegible] nāḍu as it was ruled by [illegible]a-nāḍu in consequence [illegible]rds it was called Toṇḍa[illegible] Toṇḍamān, a descendant [illegible]he solar race who wore a garland of Āḍoṇḍa flowers, governed the kingdom."[137]

The late Mr. F. W. Ellis quotes a stanza from the *Tirukkaḷukkunṛa-Purāṇa* in which a similar statement is made, the difference between the two Purāṇas being, that the latter mentions Toṇḍīra as the founder of Toṇḍīranāḍu before Daṇḍaka, the assumed establisher of Daṇḍakanāḍu.[138]

The boundaries of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam are said to be the two Penṇai or Pinākinī rivers in the north and south, and the sea and the Western Ghāts up to Tirupati on the east and west. Some parts of the Western Ghāts also belonged to it. Mr. Ellis gives the memorial verses concerning the frontiers of this district. The Southern Penṇai flows into the sea near Gūḍalūr (Cuddalore), while the northern passes through the district of Nellūr close to Kālahasti, both streams rising near the Nandidrug in Mysore.[139]

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[137] See the following stanza from the *Tiruvēṛkāṭṭu Purāṇam* :—

திருவேற்காட்டுப் புராணம்.

தண்டகணண்டு தண்டகநாடாய்த் தாவுறுதண்டூரணண்டு
வண்டலர்சோலைத் தண்டூரநாடாய் மலிபுகழிரவிதன்குலத்தா
தொண்டநன்மாலைத் தொண்டமானண்டு தொண்டநாடாயது
தூய
வண்டர்வானசுரபி சொரிந்தபால்பெருகியமர்ந்தவிப்பாலி நன்
னீடே.

[138] See *Papers on Mirāsi Right* (Madras, 1862), p. 234: "Toṇḍirēn, the chief among the leaders of the demon bands of the three-eyed deity, having governed it, this country became Toṇḍīranāḍu; when it was defended by Daṇḍacavēnder, it became accordingly Daṇḍaca-nāḍu; and when Chōzher of the family of the sun, who was Toṇḍeiman adorned by garlands of flowers, extended his protection to it, it become Toṇḍei-nāḍu." Compare also the stanza in *Hastigiricampū* which begins with "*Tuṇḍīrākhyam maṇḍalam asti spṛhanīyam.*"

[139] See *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, pp. 229-247; on p. 246, Mr. Ellis remarks: "The whole superficies of Tonda-mandalam, as originally settled by the

A ned uvērkāṭṭu Purāṇa this ecause the Pālār riv

Toṇḍamaṇḍalam is va explained. Accor ding t and most popular derivation it was so called after the illegiti Cōḷa prince Ādoṇḍa, who had been exposed on the bank of the Kāvēri in a basket filled with Ādoṇḍa or Toṇḍa flowers, which in their turn supplied him with his name. A second interpretation asserts that the newly-acquired province was covered to such an extent with the *Doṇḍa* oil-creeper, that the country was called after it. The third etymology is founded on the meaning of *Toṇḍan*, a slave, a devotee. If so, it alludes either to the low birth of Ādoṇḍa, its illegitimate first ruler, or to the uncivilised and slavish condition of the inhabitants of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. Another possibility arises by connecting *Tuṇḍīra*, the fabulous ancient king, with Toṇḍa.

The legendary story of the birth of the illegitimate Cōḷa prince Ādoṇḍa is very perplexing. All circumstances considered, even after his victory he could only have been a dependent Viceroy of the Cōḷa king. According to tradition, his offspring soon lost even this position; though some inscriptions appear to make him the ancestor of reigning princes. The defeat of the Kuṟumbas appears to be a historical fact, but is sometimes narrated without mentioning Ādoṇḍa.[140] As the latter is said to have introduced Vellāḷas and Kaṇaka

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people of Shōzha-mandalam, is measured by 18,302 square miles; of this extent the division of the country between the range of the Ghat mountains and the sea, lower Tondei, contains 14,028 square miles, and the division to the west of the Ghats, upper Tondei, 4,274: the latter is colored yellow in the map."

Read also Mackenzie MS., No. 15, C.M. 769, Section I; in the new copy, vol. I, p. 125. This declares Kalahasti as the northern, the river Pennai as the southern, the mountain Paśumalai as the western, and the sea as the eastern boundary.

[140] See p. 251.

Pillaikal into Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, these men could not be stigmatised as slaves or *toṇḍar*.

The oil-plant, *Capparis horrida*, which is the Tamil *Āḍoṇḍai* (commonly pronounced *Āḍaṇḍai*) or *Toṇḍa* creeper, is well known in Southern India and esteemed for its medicinal properties.[141] It is certainly peculiar that the same plant should have given its name to a Tanjorean prince and to a northern province which he is said to have governed and which was covered with it.

I rather feel inclined to prefer the legend which connects the name with the inhabitants of the country, who made on the more cultivated southerners the impression of a rude and uncouth set of people. The Kuṟumbas, however, must have already attained a considerable degree of civilisation, though they looked despicable in the eyes of their enemies. While *toṇḍan* denotes a slave, *toṇḍu* signifies feudal service. In Pal[illegible] Iḷavas are to this day nicknamed *Kotti-toṇḍar*. I[illegible]hly probable that the Kuṟumbabhūmi was [illegible] feudal state as Toṇḍimaṇḍalam, and that the Kuṟumbas were regarded as Toṇḍa. The minister of Kulōttuṅga wanted, as we have seen, to apply the name *Toṇḍan* to Āḍoṇḍa Cōḷa himself.[142]

The subject becomes even more complicated by the Sanskrit name of the district *Daṇḍakāraṇya*, or *Daṇḍakanāḍu* in Tamil. The southern legend ascribes to this country, as we

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[141] In Tamil ஆவுதண்ணை and ஏதண்ணை; in Telugu *Ārudoṇḍa* ఆరుదొండ. The *Ā* of *Āḍoṇḍa* seems to be therefore a contraction of *Āru* in *Ārudoṇḍa*. *Aredoṇḍa* ఆరెదొండ is called the Capparis zeylanica. *Doṇḍa* seems to apply to the fruit of the Bryonia or Bimba (C. P. Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, pp. 71, 451); in Kanarese *Toṇḍe* or *Toṇḍe-kāi* is the name of the Bryonia grandis. In Dr. J. Forbes Watson's Index to the *Native and Scientific Names of Indian and other Eastern Economic Plants and Products* the *Capparis horrida* is called Adonda, Arudonda in *Telugu*; Ardandu, Ardundu in *Hindustani and Dekkani*; Atanday, Atonda, Atunday in *Tamil*. *Ricinus communis* is called Aranda and Arundi in *Hindustani*; and *Bryonia grandis* Donda kaya in *Telugu*. *Tuṇḍikēri* is the Sanskrit name for the cotton plant, which grows in South India in great quantity

[142] See p. 252.

have seen, three rulers Daṇḍaka, Tuṇḍira and Āḍoṇḍa, who conferred in their turn their names on it. This tradition seems to rest on a very slight foundation. Not only do these rulers appear in a different sequence, at least so far as Daṇḍaka and Tuṇḍīra are concerned, but their names resemble one another to such an extent, that one cannot help suspecting their being in reality only variations of the same identical term.

Daṇḍa or *Daṇḍka* was the son of the ancient king Īkṣvāku, and was cursed by Śukrācārya for carrying off his daughter *Araja*. In consequence of this curse the pious hermits left the country, and it became an uninhabitable waste land. According to ancient accounts *Daṇḍakāranya*, the forest of Daṇḍa or Daṇḍka, was situated between the Narmadā and Gōdāvarī rivers, but its limits were gradually widened, till it stretched all over Southern India. On the other hand the province, in whose centre lies the present City of Madras, was specially distinguished as Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. So far as I am informed nothing is known about a D[illegible]ng Daṇḍaka, and this present form of the name su[illegible]- krit origin. I am, however, of opinion that *Daṇḍa*, *Tuṇḍa*, *Tuṇḍīra* are all variations of the same identical word, though it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether this term is of Sanskrit or Gauda-Dravidian source. It is not improbable that the king Daṇḍa and the demon *Tuṇḍa*—peculiarly enough *Toṇḍīra* is described as a leader of demon bands—are the representatives of an aboriginal population. The name of the Tuṇḍikēras behind the Vindhyan mountains bears some resemblance to *Toṇḍa*. After *Tuṇḍīra* Kāñcīpuram is occasionally called *Tuṇḍīrapuram*, a designation which would assign its foundation to a remote antiquity. *Toṇḍi* is also the name of a town and *Toṇḍiarpet* is a suburb of Madras. It is now commonly called Taṇḍiyārpet தண்டயார்-பேட்டை, as Āḍoṇḍai ஞ in Tamil similarly pronounced Āḍaṇḍai.[143]

[143] Compare the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* von Otto *Böhtlingk and* Rudolph Roth, vol III, pp. 494, 495 nder दण्ड and दण्डक, H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu-*

The existence of the *Toṇḍa* or *Doṇḍa* plant may have led to the legend of the illegitimate prince Ādoṇḍa being placed in a basket filled with Ādoṇḍa creepers and named after them.

The name of the king Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka may thus be of Gauda-Dravidian origin. So far as historical evidence goes, the term Daṇḍakāraṇya is prior to that of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, but both may have sprung from the same source. It is further possible that the Kuṟumbas were nicknamed *Toṇḍas*. Other difficulties arise from the circumstance that the Pallava kings exercised authority contemporaneously with the Kuṟumbas in the same country.

The title of the ruler of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was Toṇḍamān, a designation which is still borne by the Rāja of Puḍukōṭa in the Trichinopoly district, as chief of the Kaḷḷas. I regard these Kaḷḷas as the representatives of a portion of the martial caste of the Kuṟumbas.[144] When these had found their occupation as regular soldiers gone, they took to marauding, and made themselves so obnoxious by their thefts and robberies, that the term Kaḷḷan, thief, was applied and stuck to them as a tribal appellation.[145] In some documents the Kaḷḷas are called Kuṟumbas, and one of the sub-divisions of the kindred Koṟamas is known as Kalla-Koṟamas.

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purāṇa, edited by Fitzedward Hall, Vol. III, pp. 238, 239, 259, 260, and vol. IV, p. 59, about the Tuṇḍikēras.

[144] The Rev. W. Taylor identifies also in the *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 385 (the *Kallars* or *Curumbars*) and 399 (the *Kallars*, or thieves, another name for the *Curumbars* or *Vedars*), the Kaḷḷas with the Kuṟumbas. MS. No. I, C. M. 755, 3, of the Mackenzie MSS. identifies in fact the Kaḷḷas with the Kuṟumbas, for the Kaḷḷas of Kaḷḷakkēṭṭu who were defeated by the Pālegar. Śrīvallavarāmakuṭṭāla Tēvar and Kṛṣṇarāyamarutappa Tēvar are called Kuṟumbas. The Kaḷḷas have also adopted the title *Tēvar* like the Maravas. Compare moreover Mr. J. H. Nelson's remarks on the Kaḷḷas in his *Manual of the Madura Country*, Part II, pp. 44–56.

[145] In Tamil *kaḷ*, means theft, lying, and *kaḷḷan*, thief, robber; in Malayālam *kaḷḷam* denotes theft, untruth, and *kaḷḷan*, thief, liar; in Kanarese *kaḷa* is a villain, liar; and in Telugu *kaḷḷa*, means lie. The word *Kaḷḷan* occurs only in the Tamil language as a tribal designation, a fact which proves that the name Kaḷḷan is derived from the root *kaḷ*, and not *vice versâ* as Mr.

From reliable information I have gathered, the Kuṟumba origin of the Kaḷḷas appears very probable. The ancestors of the Kaḷḷas were according to tradition driven from their home in consequence of a famine and migrated from a place near Tripati in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam to the south. They eventually settled in the village *Ambil* on the bank of the Koleroon (in Tamil Koḷḷaḍam), opposite and not far distant from Tanjore, the river being between both places. The ruler of Tanjore enlisted them in his service as watch-men or Kāvaṟkār. Eventually, they left Ambilnāḍu, penetrated still further to the south and founded *Ambukōvil*, which they named after the home they had left not long before.[146] They settled in nine villages, and their descendants are called *Onbadukuppattār*, after *onbadu* nine and *kuppam* village. They are regarded as the nine representative clans of the Kaḷḷas. The reigning family of the Toṇḍamān belongs to them, and the *Onbadukuppattār* are as a sign of this connection invited to all the marriages, festivals and other solemnities which take place at Court. *Ambilnāḍu* formed originally one of the 12 independent small communities, known as *Tannaṟucu Nāḍu*, i.e., a district which has its own kings, forming thus a sort of confederation, like that which prevailed among the

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Nelson seems to intimate when he says in his *Manual* (II, p. 49) "that the word *Kallan* is common to the Kanarese, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil tongues . . (and) that the Kallans were the last great aboriginal tribe of the south which successfully opposed the advancing tide of Hinduism."

[146] A great part of the information about the Kaḷḷas I obtained from the present Dewan Regent of Pudukōṭa, the Honorable A. Sēshiah Śāstriyar, C.I.E.

See also Mr. Nelson's *Manual*, II, p. 44: "According to Ward's Survey Account the Kallans belong to two main divisions, that of the *Kīl nādu* or eastern country, and that of the *Mēl nādu* or western country. The Kil Nādu comprises the Nādus of Mēlūr, a village about sixteen miles east of Madura, Vellalūr and Sirungudi: and its inhabitants, whose agromen is usually Ambalakaran, are the descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country in the following circumstances. Some Kallans belonging to the Vella (Vaḷa ?) Nādu near Kānchipuram (Conjeveram) came down south with a number of dogs on a grand hunting expedition, armed with their peculiar weapons, pikes, bludgeons and *Vallari Thadis* or bomerangs. Somehow in the neighbourhood of Mēlūr, whilst they were engaged in their sport, they

Kadambas. This *Nāḍu* was situated east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad, the residence of the Sētupati.[147] In course of time the Ambilnāḍu Kaḷḷas became through the favour of the Trichinopoly Naicks the heads of the twelve districts, under their chief the Toṇḍamān. One of these princes married a daughter of a Trichinopoly Naick, and her consort erected after her death the *Ammāl cattiram*, which lies between Trichinopoly and Pudukōṭa. In consequence and in honor of this connection the court language at Pudukōṭa is to this day Telugu, and Telugu is the first language in which the royal children are instructed. In the characters of this language the Rājas also write their signature. The Kaṭṭiyams or poems which celebrate the deeds and contain the pedigree of the Toṇḍamāns are sung in Telugu and by Telugu bards or *Bhaṭṛājus*.

A singular observance which has survived to the present day seems to strengthen the evidence about the Kurumba descent of the Kaḷḷas. At every important feast, especially at the floating festival, which is celebrated by the Pudukōṭa Rājas the Kambali-Kurumbas of a neighbouring village, about 4 miles distant from Pudukōṭa, appear with their goddess *Viralakṣmī*. They then perform before the Rāja a very old and peculiar dance, their heads being covered with long flowing plumes, and at the conclusion of the dance, a Kurumba sits down quietly with his arms round his knees, while another breaks on his head cocoanuts, the tom-toms meanwhile continuing to beat time to the dance. With this

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observed a peacock showing fight to one of their dogs, and thinking from this circumstance that the country must be a fortunate country and one favorable to bodily strength and courage, they determined to settle in it."

In Dr. Winslow's *Tamil Dictionary*, p. 31, *Ambalakkāran* is explained as "a chief of the Kuller caste," or as *Kaḷḷajjātittalaiyan*.

The village of the Kaḷḷas above alluded to is *Ambalakkārappaṭṭi* and lies 5 miles distant from Mēlur.

[147] The Tamil ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನ, *Tannaraču*, originally meaning *self-government*, got eventually the sense of *republican*, *anarchic* and even *independent* rule. *Tannaraču Nāḍu* is therefore a district with a democratic or independent government.

ceremony the festival concludes. This respect paid to the Kuṟumba goddess seems to prove that she is also worshipped by the Kaḷḷas, who, though calling themselves Śaivites, are mostly still devil-worshippers.[148]

The ancient home of the Kaḷḷas being Ṭoṇḍamaṇḍalam explains thus the name of their chief, so well known in the modern Indian history as the *Toṇḍamān;* and their Kuṟumba origin is likewise indicated by their using the *Nāḍu* and *Kottam* system as a division of their country; these two terms being peculiar to the Revenue Administration of the Kuṟumbas.[149]

From subsequent events it is however clear that the Kuṟumbas, though defeated and at times even reduced to insignificance, were not annihilated and that they eventually recovered to some extent their former influence. We know thus that the Kuṟumbas reasserted their supremacy in certain places, and made themselves feared again in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and held Marutam Kōṭṭai in the times of Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara.[150]

Another branch of the Kuṟumbas is even said to have founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara, as its first dynasty is traced to Kuṟumba descent. Horace H. Wilson says that these princes were of a "*Kurma* or *Kuruba* family." This tradition tallies with the fact that both the first kings of Vijayanagara and the Kuṟumbas pretended to be Yādavas.[151]

Other Kuṟumbas invaded Southern India about two hundred years ago and founded the Marātha kingdom of Tanjore, an event which leads me to speak of the *Kurmis*, *Kumbis* or *Kunbis*.

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[148] The special deity of the modern Kallas is called *Aḻakar*, அழகர்; *aḻaku* signifies beauty. Compare about the cocoanuts, p. 238.

[149] See Mr. Ellis' *Report on the Mirāsi Rights*, pp. 228, 229.

[150] See Mackenzie Collection No. 14, C. M. 768, VIII.

[151] See p. 261. Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, p. 368, and H. H. Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Collection, 1st ed., p. cxi, (2nd ed., p. 83): "One tradition ascribed the origin of *Vijayanagar* to *Madhava* leaving it to the *Kurma* or *Kuruba* family."

ON THE KURMIS, KUMBIS OR KUNBIS.

I have already stated that a considerable portion of the agricultural population of Northern India is, as I believe, of Gaudian origin. When saying this, I had in view the widely-spread and well-known tribe of the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis, who according to the last Census Report number 12,199,531 souls. The agricultural population forms in most countries the bulk of the nation, and, in an agricultural land like India this large number need not create any astonishment. The late Rev. Dr. John Wilson proposed to derive the word Kurmi (Kumbi or Kunbi) from the Sanskrit root *kṛs*, to plough, and to take *kurmi* for a modification of *kṛṣmi*, ploughman, a word which, however, so far as I know, does not exist in Sanskrit.[152]

I regard this etymology as wrong and prefer to explain the terms *Kurmi* and *Kumbi* as contractions of *Kurumi* and *Kurumbi*, as stated previously, we actually meet with the term *Kuruma*.[153] The interchange between *r* and *m* is frequent, as in *Kṛṣṇapura* into Kuḍumba and most peculiarly of the agricultural population of Tanjore bears to this day the name *Kuḍumban* which is identical with *Kuḍumbi*, and from which the Marāthi *Kumbi* or *Kunbi* is derived. The expression *Kuḍumbi* is still occasionally used in this sense, as I have been informed on good authority, by some natives of Baroda and its neighbourhood; and even in the Mysore territory the Maratha Kunbis are called, as I hear, at times Kuḍumbis. The existence of terms like

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[152] See the Rev. Dr. John Wilson's "Tribes and Languages of the Bombay Presidency" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 222: "The largest tribe of the Maraṭha people is that of the *Kunbīs*, corresponding with the Gujarāti *Kulambīs* or cultivators. The derivation of the name is as follows: *Krīshmi* (S.) a ploughman, *Kurmī* (Hindī), Kulambī (Gujarāti), and *Kumabī* or *Kunbi* (Marāthi). They are called 'Maraṭhās' by way of distinction. Some of their oldest and highest families (as that of Śivāji, the founder of the Maraṭha Empire) hold themselves to be descended of *Kshatriyas* or *Rajputs*, and, though they eat with the cultivating Maraṭhās, they do not intermarry with them. All the *Marāṭhās*, however, are viewed by the Brahmans as Śūdras."

[153] See the text and n. 151 on p. 260.

Kurumbi or Kudumbi accounts also for Marāthi *Kulambī*, though this expression is said to be found in works published in the Educational series.

The term *Kuḍumbi*, however, is also mentioned in the Madras Census Report as current in Tanjore. It must not be mistaken for the Sanskrit *Kuṭumbi*, householder; nor must it be connected with the Tamil *kuḍumi*, a tuft of hair.

Kumbi was changed into *Kuṇbi*, and this again into Kuṇabi and Kuṇubi which forms are found in modern Marāthi. Should any derivative of Kurmi, Kumbi or Kunbi denote agriculture, it must have originated in the same manner from *Kumbi* as Vellāṇmai has from Vellāḷan.

The antiquated Indian caste system is so far right that it assigns the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis to the Śūdra class, *i.e.*, to the non-Aryan population. In spite of contradictory evidence Colonel Dalton thinks: "it is probable that in the Kūrmis we have the descendants of some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal."[154]

The Kurmis are on the whole a very respectable, industrious and well-to-do class, though not credited with much intellect. Like many other low-born people some Kurmis display a great anxiety to prove their noble extraction, and, in order to avoid any mistakes being made on this subject, Dr. Francis Buchanan expressly asserts that they are in reality Śūdras, though some claim to be Kṣatriyas. The Kurmis of Berar eat meat, drink spirits and allow widows to remarry. In the Bombay Presidency the Kurmis are subdivided into two classes, the *Agris* and *Marāthas*, and the latter are in their turn again known as Pure Marāthas and *Akarmashis*. The Akarmashis are deemed to be descendants of slaves, and the Agris are representatives of an aboriginal [155]

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[154] See h[illegible] *gy of Bengal*, p. 317.

[155] A[illegible]mis compare Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *History, Antiquities, Topogra[illegible]ties of Eastern India*, vol. I, pp. 166, 283; vol. II, pp.

These facts seem to be conclusive evidence for the non-Aryan origin of the Kurmis and Kunbis. But what makes this tribe historically so interesting, is the circumstance that some of the chief Hindu dynasties of modern times such as the Rājas of *Sattāra*, the late Rājas of *Tanjore*, *Scindia* and others are of Kumbi extraction. The circumstance that the old Marāthi dialect has preserved the term *Kuḍumbi* enables us to trace the connection of these Kunbis with the Kuḍumbas or Kuṛumbas.

Considering the bravery and the fierceness of the ancient Kuṛumbas who were the dread and the bane of their neighbours, we need not be surprised if the fire of their martial disposition was not quite extinct in the otherwise plodding Kumbis, and that the genius of Śivāji and Ēkōji could kindle the spark into a blazing flame. If Sir George Campbell had suspected the origin of the Kumbis, he would

468, 469: "Next to the Ahirs the Kurmis here (in Gorukhpoor) hold the highest place; and in Parraona they obtained the whole property, although they were not able to secure the title of Raja. This, however, was bestowed on the family by the late Asfud-Doulah, but it gave great offence to the Rajputs, and has been discontinued. The families most nearly connected with the chiefs of Parraona, and some others, who were Chaudkuris of Pergunahs, are reckoned Ashraf, and scorn the plough. While a great many of the Saithawar and Patanawar tribes have become ashamed of the term Kurmi, and reject all additions to the names above-mentioned, although it is well known that they are Kurmis, and many of them are not ashamed of this name. On the right of the Sarayu this tribe is most commonly called Kunmi or Kunbi, which, in the account of Mysore, I have written Cunabi (see above p. 232 n. 109); for it is one of the most generally diffused and numerous tribes in India; and in Malawa has risen to great power by the elevation of Sindhiya to the government of Ujjain. This person was a Kurmi; but I am told, that at his capital the Kurmis are now reckoned Rajputs, as they would have been here had the Parraona family been a little more powerful. There is some reason to suspect, that their claim is better founded than that of many who have had more success; for it is alleged by many, that they are the same with the Tharus, whose claim to be descended of the family of the sun, is supported by many circumstances which must be allowed to have some weight, although I do not think them conclusive. If the Kurmis, however, are the same with the Tharus, they are at any rate descended of the most powerful, most civilized, and most ancient tribe, that has been sovereigns of the country since the time at least of the family of the sun. As the Tharus, however, are impure, the Kurmis strenuously deny the connection, they being

not have been so puzzled about the military element so conspicuous in their character.[156]

On the origin of the term Kadamba.

Having been able to recognize in the Kurmis or Kumbis the well-known Kuṟumbas or Kuḍumbas, I do not believe that I go too far by suggesting a similar explanation for the name of the famous Kadamba dynasty of ancient times. Only mysterious legends which connect its founder with the Kadamba tree are known about this royal race. I suspect that behind the name Kadamba lurks that of Kuḍumba or Kuṟumba, and that the former was originally an accidental alteration through variation of sound, which, in course of time, was accepted and used to obliterate the real origin of the ruling tribe. In this case, its ethnological status is ascertained, and I shall now enquire into the origin of the title Kadamba.

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nearly as pure as the Ahirs. They formerly ate wild pork, but now reject it, and will not acknowledge that they drink spirituous liquor. They keep widows as concubines. Their Gurus and Purohits are the same with those of the Ahirs."

Compare further Sir Henry M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms*, vol. I, pp. 155, 157; H. H. Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 302, 304 and 305, under *Kunbi* and *Kurmi*: "*Kurmi*, *Koormee* (H. कुर्मी, कुर्मी). The caste of agriculturists, or of a member of it, in Eastern and Central Hindustan, being the same, essentially, as the *Kunbis* of the west and south." Consult also Colonel Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 306, 308, 317–327; Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 40, 92–95; Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 323–325; vol. II, pp. 99–101, 187, 188; vol. III, pp. 150–152.

[156] See Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 94: "Nothing puzzled me more than this, viz., to understand whence came the great Maratta military element. In the Punjab one can easily understand the sources of Sikh power; every peasant looks fit to be a soldier. But the great mass of the Maratta Koonbees look like nothing of the kind, and are the quietest and most obedient of humble and unwarlike cultivators. . . Although the Koonbee element was the foundation of the Maratta power, though Sevajee and some of his chiefs were Koonbees, it appears that these people came almost exclusively from a comparatively small district near Sattara, a mixed region where, as I judge, the Koonbees are much mixed with numerous aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes of Mhars and others." Compare about the Kunbis also the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 265–270.

Different legends are told to explain the name of the *Kaḍamba, Kadamba* or *Kādamba* dynasty.[157]

One story tells us that after the destruction of the demon *Tripura* a drop of perspiration fell from the forehead of Īśvara through the hollow of a Kadamba tree, and assumed the form of a man with three eyes and four arms. He was accordingly called *Trinētra* or *Trilōcana Kadamba*, became the founder of the Kadamba dynasty and erected near the *Sahya* mountain his capital *Vānavāśi*, also known as *Jayantīpura* or *Vaijayantīpura*.[158]

Another tradition relates that he was the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, who stayed for a certain period in the same mountain range, that he was born there eventually under a Kadambatree, whence the child obtained his name, and became a king in course of time.

These are the two most widely-spread reports, but according to another a Brahman of Yalgi underwent a severe penance in order to become a king through the favor of Madhukēśvara.[159] His penance was graciously accepted, and a divine voice informed him that he would be reborn as a peacock, that the person who would eat his head would become a king, that those who would partake of his breast would become ministers, and that those who would feast on the remainder of his body would become treasurers. The Brahman satisfied with this promise, went to *Kāśī*, where he killed himself with a spear and was reborn as a peacock. In such a state he roamed about in the forest and announced

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[157] See "A Kādamba Inscription at Siddhāpur" by K. B. Pāṭhak, B.A., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 273: "The name of the family seems to have been written differently, as Kaḍamba, Kadamba or Kādamba."

[158] Consult *Mackenzie MSS.*, Kanarese No. 744, II, pp. 208 *seq.*, further H. H. Wilson's Introduction to *The Mackenzie Collection*, pp. l., ci., old edition, pp. 60, 149, second edition; Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 193, 194, II, p. 352, and his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxiii.

[159] See *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Kanarese, No. 725, VI, pp. 99-102; H. H. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, pp. ci, ciii, old edition; pp. 149, 150, new edition.

with a shrill voice that the person who would eat his head would become a king; until he fell into the hands of a gang of thieves, who were resting under a Kadamba tree. They killed the bird and asked a woman, *Puṣpavatī* by name, who was living near by, to cook the peacock and to distribute its flesh amongst them. While the woman was preparing the peacock, and the thieves were bathing, her son came home very hungry, and, as he wanted something to eat, his mother gave him the head of the bird in ignorance of what was in store for him who ate it. When he had eaten it, the thieves returned, partook of the remainder of the meat, but were astonished that after staying a while, none of them was proclaimed king. They fetched the woman, who, when hard pressed, told them what she had done, and that her son had eaten the head of the peacock. The thieves found that it was of no use to fight against destiny and submitted to their fate.

The king *Ānakapurandara* of Jayantīpura had died at that very time without leaving any living issue behind and, as was the custom in these circumstances, the ministers let the state elephant loose with a watervessel containing holy water. While thus roaming about, he came to the spot in the forest near which the son of Puṣpavatī was living close to the Kadamba tree. The elephant bowed down to the youth, who ascended the animal and was carried by him to Jayantīpura, where he was joyfully received, placed on the royal throne and anointed as king. He assumed henceforth the name Mayūravarma Kadamba and ruled for a long time gloriously over the country.

The election of a king is in Indian legends often entrusted to a state-elephant, and widely spread is also the belief that he who eats the head of a peacock becomes a king. The peacock is in Sanskrit called *Mayūra*, hence the name *Mayūravarma*, which the youth accepted. So far as the person and his origin are concerned, the two legends differ, as one refers to *Trinētra* and the other to *Mayūravarma*

Kadamba, but the Kadamba tree plays in both traditions a significant part.

As *Puṣpavatī* prepared the food for the thieves of which her son partook, and which she distributed among the thieves, one may assume with good reason that she belonged to the same caste as the thieves who caught the peacock, and these people I feel inclined to identify with the Kuṟumbas. The peacock plays an important part in the account of the settlement of the Kallas in the *Kaḍambavanam* or *Kaḍambāṭavi* of Madura. So far as the expression *thief* is concerned, it must not be forgotten that thieving or robbing was not considered disgraceful, if it was practised as a regular profession, just as *cattlelifting* did not in former times attach any stygma to those who indulged in it in the Highlands of Scotland.

The Kadamba tree, of which there exist various species, is much esteemed for its flowers which are sacred to the god *Skanda*, for its fragrant and highly esteemed powder which is used at religious ceremonies, for the juice which exudes [illegible] stem, and for other reasons. Its name was spelt in [illegible]ays, *Kaḍamba* and *Kadamba*, and as it was origi- [illegible] indigenous Indian plant, I presume that this term [illegible]igenous and Non-Aryan. I believe that the people [illegible] dynasty, which we call Kadambas, were actually [illegible] of the Kuṟumbas, who had assumed a slightly [illegible] designation by changing their name Kuṟumba into [illegible]a, and that the stories about the Kadamba tree are inventions of later times in order to explain the coincidence. It is hardly necessary to restate here the resemblance between the *a* and *u* sounds, and to mention that the Kadamba plant is in various places of India called Kuṟumba.[160]

I have had occasion to allude to the peculiar mode of confederation prevalent among the Kuṟumbas and

[160] See the Rev. Dr. Morison Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 219, "*Kaṭampam, Kaṭampu*, a flower tree." It is sacred to Skanda who is called *Kaṭampan*; Madura is called *Kaṭampavanam* or *Kaṭampāṭavi*. On p.

a similar institution is said to have existed among the Kaḍambas.[161]

Yet, what seems to establish the original identity between the Kuṟumbas and the Kaḍambas, is the fact that the term *Kaḍamba* is actually found in Tamil as a synonomous and identical expression for *Kuṟumba*, though this circumstance has up to now escaped the notice it really deserves.[162]

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236 we find "*Katampam, Katampu*, the Kadamba tree." In the common vernacular the Kadamba tree is often called *Kudumbu*, in Hindustani and Bengali it is known as *Kudum*.—Toddy is made from certain Kadamba trees, and the Marathas make mead from the Kadamba (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*). Compare Dr. Dymock's Anthropogonic Trees, *Bombay Anthropological Journal*, vol. I, p. 301. Parvati (or Durga) likes to dwell in the tree. Mr. Lewis Rice says on p. xxxiii in his *Mysore Inscriptions* that "the Kadamba tree appears to be one of the palms from which toddy is extracted." The Viṣṇupurāṇa (see H. H. Wilson's translation edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. V, pp. 65, 66) reports, that "Varuṇa, in order to provide for his (Śeṣa's) recreation, said to (his wife) Vāruṇī (the goddess of wine): 'Thou, Madirā, art ever acceptable to the powerful Ananta. Go, therefore, auspicious and kind goddess, and promote his enjoyments.' Obeying these commands, Vāruṇī went and established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba-tree in the woods of Vrindāvana. Baladeva, roaming about (came there, and) the pleasant fragrance of liquor, resumed his ancient passion drink. The holder of the ploughshare, observing the vinous dro from the Kadamba-tree, was much delighted, (and gathered) them along with the herdsmen and the Gopis, whilst those who with voice and lute celebrated him in their songs. Being inel the wine), and the drops of perspiration standing like pearls upo he called out, not knowing what he said." (In a note to t "Kadambarī is one of the synonyms of wine or spirituous grammarians, however, also derive the word from some legend be so called, because it was produced from the hollow of a Ka on the Gomanta mountain.") According to the Bhagavata the Kadamba-tree was placed on Supārśva; see Vishnupurana, vol. II, p. 116. In the Sanskrit Dictionary of Professors Böhtlingk and Roth we read in vol. I, p. 211: "*Kadambara* ein aus den Blumen der Nauclea Cadamba bereitetes berauschendes Getränk, n. मदभेद, H (Śmacandra) an. Med. f. ई diess. und A.K 2, 10, 40. H. 682, the rain-water which collects in clefts and hollow places of the tree (Nauclea Cadamba) when the flowers are in perfection, and which is supposed to be impregnated with the honey, *Carey* bei Haughton. कदम्बकोटरं जाता नाम्ना कादम्बरीति सा Hariv. 5417, fg."

[161] See p. 259.

[162] I have elsewhere pointed out the circumstance that the name of the rude and cruel Kuṟumbas was used in some South Indian Languages as an expression for cruelty, so that *Kuṟumban* denotes in Tamil and Malayalam

At a much later period we find the Kaḍambas connected with the last great dynasty of Southern India, the Rājas of Vijayanagara. The founders of this kingdom are also said to have been Kuṟumbas. If the first family of the Vijayanagara kings were Kuṟumbas, and on the other hand related to the once famous, but then decayed though not extinct royal house of the Kadambas of Tuluva, historical evidence, however slight, would have been adduced to establish the connection between the Kuṟumbas and the Kadambas, and this connection is in its turn supported by philological proof of the original identity of their names.[163]

I have thus in the preceding pages given an account of those more important sections of the Gaudian population whose identification offered the least difficulty, and who from time immemorial have occupied an acknowledged position among the inhabitants of India.

I have shown, moreover, that these Gaudians form together with the Dravidians the Gauda-Dravidian race, and

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a savage, a stubborn fellow, and *kurumbu* (or *kurumbuttanam*), barbarity, insolence and wickedness. The same word underwent a slight alteration, of *u* being changed into *a*, so that *Kaḍumbaṉ* signifies in both these languages *an unruly fellow*, and in Dr. Winslow's Dictionary we find on p. 219 "கடும்பன் (Kaṭampar), s. Unruly persons, குறும்பன் (Kuṟumpar)." The only explanation of the name *Kadamba* I remember to have seen, is contained in Mr. Grigg's *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, where in note 4 on p. 208 he asks: "May not this word (Kadamba) be a compound of Kátu or Kátam (both meaning forest) and Kúrumba, and perhaps be the same as Kád-Kúrumba?"

[163] See *The Mackenzie Collection* Introduction, p. civ; new edition, pp. 61, 62: "There is little doubt also that the first princes of *Vijayanagar* were descended from a *Tuluva* family of ancient origin and power, whose dominions extended towards the western sea: whether they were connected with the *Kadava* family does not appear, but that this race continued to hold possessions in *Kernāṭa*, till near their time, is proved by grants at *Banavāsi*, *Savanur*, and *Gokernam*, dated in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by *Kadamba* kings." Compare also Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III, p. 98: "In 1336 was founded the city of Vijayanagar, whose princes are said to have derived their origin from the Kadambas."

that though descended from the same stock and speaking the same language, these tribes separated in prehistoric times and subsequently became still more alienated from each other.

In spite of this fact, they continued to live intermingled in the same districts, though a gulf of hatred and of caste prejudice prevented them from coalescing. The cause of this separation of the two kindred tribes it is now impossible to ascertain, but the division has since been kept alive and, if anything, it may be still further widened in the future. A few exceptions to this mutual antipathy however occur, *e.g.*, in the case of the Bhils and the Gonds.

With these remarks I shall pass to the third part, in which the religious aspect of this enquiry will be discussed.

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